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THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF THE

REV. JOHN LIGHTFOOT, D. D.

MASTER OF CATHARINE HALL,

Cambridge.

EDITED BY THE

REV. JOHN ROGERS PITMAN, A. M.

Alternate Morning Preacher at Belgrave and Berkeley Chapels; and alternate Evening Preacher at the Foundling and Magdalen Hospitals.

VOLUME XIII.

CONTAINING

THE JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES:

FROM JANUARY 1, 1643, TO DECEMBER 31, 1644.

AND

LETTERS TO AND FROM DR. LIGHTFOOT.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. F. DOVE, ST. JOHN'S SQUARE:

SOLD BY HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY; W. CLARKE, NEW BOND STREET; RIVINGTONS, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD, AND WATERLOO PLACE; BAYNES AND SON, PATERNOSTER ROW; R. PRIESTLEY, HIGH HOLBORN; LLOYD AND SON, HARLEY STREET; J. BOOTH, DUKE STREET, PORTLAND PLACE; R. BAYNES, IVY LANE; J. PARKER, OXFORD: DEIGHTON AND SONS; AND J. HATT, CAMBRIDGE.

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PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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JOURNAL

OF

THE PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES,

CONVENED FOR THE

WORK OF REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH,

BY

THE AUTHORITY OF

BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, 1643.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

JOURNAL[a]

OF

THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.

Saturday, July 1.]—On Saturday the 1st of July, Anno Domini, 1643, the members of the two Houses of Parliament, that are named in the ordinance for members of the Assembly, and many of the divines there named, and a great congregation besides, being met in the Abbey Church in Westminster, Dr. *Twiss* the appointed Prolocutor of the Assembly, preached unto them upon these words, John xiv. 18, "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you."

After sermon, all the members of the Assembly present, went into Henry the Seventh's Chapel, where the names being called, the appearance of names that day, was sixty-nine; or thereabouts.

Divers speeches being made by divers, and the Parliament not having as yet framed or proposed any work for the Assembly suddenly to fall upon; it was adjourned till Thursday following.

Thursday, July 6.]—This day these instructions were brought in, from the two Houses of Parliament, to be rules, whereby for the present we were to go.

Some rules for the Assembly, directed by the Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled:

(1.) That two Assessors be joined to the Prolocutor, to supply his place in case of absence or infirmity.

(2.) That Scribes be appointed, to set down all proceed-

[a] The following mark [*] implies that the passages, where it occurs, are either not legible or defective, in the original Manuscript.—Ed.

ings, and those to be Divines, who are not of the Assembly, viz. Mr. *Henry Robens* and Mr. *Adonitan Byfield.*

(3.) Every member, at his first entry into the Assembly, shall make serious and solemn protestation, not to maintain any thing but what he believes to be truth in sincerity, when discovered unto him.

(4.) No resolution to be given upon any question the same day, wherein it is first propounded.

(5.) What any man undertakes to prove as necessary, he shall make good out of Scripture.

(6.) No man to proceed in any dispute, after the Prolocutor has enjoined him silence, unless the Assembly desire he may go on.

(7.) No man to be denied to enter his dissent from the Assembly, and his reasons for it, in any point, after it hath been first debated in the Assembly, and thence (if the dissenting party desire it) to be sent to the Houses of Parliament by the Assembly, not by any particular man or men, in a private way, when either House shall require.

(8.) All things agreed on and prepared for the Parliament, to be openly read and allowed in the Assembly, and then offered as the judgment of the Assembly, if the major part assent. Provided that the opinion of any persons dissenting, and the reasons urged for it, be annexed thereunto, if the dissenters require it, together with the solutions, if any were given to the Assembly, to these reasons.

Saturday, July 8.]—The Assembly being met, the protestation was taken by every member of it, both Lords and Commons, as well as divines.

"I, A. B. do seriously and solemnly protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly, whereof I am a member, I will not maintain any thing in matters of doctrine, but what I think in my conscience to be truth; or in point of discipline, but what I shall conceive to conduce most to the glory of God, and the good and peace of his church."

The new covenant or vow was also given to the hands of every divine.

Then was the whole Assembly cast into three equal committees. The divines according to the order, as their names stood in the ordinance; and the Lords and Commons, into the three several parts, according to their order also.

The first committee to sit in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and to take in hand the first, second, third, and fourth articles.

The second in the place, used heretofore by the lower House of Convocation, and to proceed on the fifth, sixth, seventh articles.

The third in Jerusalem Chamber in the dean's lodgings, upon articles eight, nine, ten; and all to meet at their several places on Monday at one o'clock.

Mr. *White* of Dorchester, and Dr. *Burgess* were nominated assessors in case of sickness or absence of the prolocutor.

A committee of six or eight persons of the Commons and Divines mixtly, chosen for to seek out for copies of the thirty-nine articles, that the proceeding may be upon the most authentic.

The meeting adjourned till Wednesday next at nine o'clock.

Monday, July 10.]—The three committees sat in their several places, according to the appointment. The chairmen they chose, were Dr. *Burgess* in the first, Dr. *Stanton* in the second, and Mr. *Gibbon* in the third.

Tuesday, July 11.]—The committees sat again this day, and followed their task upon their several articles.

Wednesday, July 12.]—This morning the Assembly met, when the chairman of the first committee reported the proceedings of that committee. Whereupon there fell a great debate; for they having not alleged any places of Scripture, for the clearing and vindication of these articles, wherewith they were intrusted, it came to this question, Whether in our proceeding upon all the articles, we should produce Scripture for the clearing of them, which held debating all the forenoon, but at last was resolved affirmatively.

A letter came from Dr. *Brownrigg*, bishop of Exeter, to Dr. *Featly*, or, in his absence, to Dr. *Gouge*, which was openly read, wherein he excuseth his non-appearance in the Assembly, from the tie of the vice-chancellorship in the university, that lay upon him.

The Assembly adjourned itself till Friday morning. The second and third committees sat in the afternoon, but the first had adjourned the day before till Friday: so did the others this day.

Friday, July 14.]—Three of our members came in this

day, which had not appeared till now, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Tuckney*, Mr. *Green*, and took the protestation.

Saturday, July 15.]—Upon a complaint, that the prolocutor, whose parts and abilities might stand the Assembly in good stead upon occasion, was tied up from speaking in regard of his place, it was ordered that he should speak, and give his advice, when he should think fit.

Then was brought in and read an order from the House of Commons for the taking of the covenant, which was voted to be tendered on Tuesday following; and withal it was ordered that all the members should attend that day at nine o'clock.

Mr. *Selden*, in behalf and name of the sub-committee, that was appointed to search for the most authentic copies of the thirty-nine articles, made report to the Assembly, what had been done in that business, and brought in many copies.

Monday, July 17.]—The first committee reported again upon the two first articles, and the second upon the fifth. This held all the forenoon.

The Earl of *Manchester* declared, from the Lords, that the covenant should be forborne to be tendered, till we heard again from them.

In the afternoon all the committees sat. Upon their rising they met in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, to consult what advice or tender to make to the House of Commons, in regard of the doleful tidings that were sent of Sir William Waller's defeat before the Devizes; which relation had been made to one part of the second committee, by Sir William's own lady, as they came from dinner. It was agreed, that Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Mr. *Ash*, Mr. *Case*, and others, should draw up a petition, to be delivered the next morning.

Tuesday, July 18.]—Before the company sat down into an Assembly, the petition forementioned was brought in, and read, which was to beseech the House of Commons, in regard of the two late disasters in the North and in the West, to take into their thoughts some way, which might be thought the most to conduce to the appeasing of the present wrath; and they make bold to present unto them these:—

'That a solemn fast might be speedily kept; that, for the removing of the common ignorance, catechising might be powerfully set up; that the sabbath may be looked to, the

army purged, delinquents punished, a good ministry created, adultery and vain swearing censured, &c.'

The Assembly being sat, the first committee reported again upon the two first articles, and the proofs of the several parts of them, voted to pass.

Wednesday, July 19.]—This morning before the Assembly sat down about their business, the petition drawn up the day before was brought in, read, and subscribed by many, but not by all, for the time called to Assembly. It was sent away by the hands of Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Ashe*, and others, to the two Houses.

By this time word was sent to us from the Houses, that they had appointed a fast on Friday next, being July 21st, and Mr. *Hill*, Mr. *Spurstow*, and Mr. *Vines* to preach before themselves. Whereupon the Assembly was adjourned till Saturday morning.

Thursday, July 27.]—In the afternoon the committees being sitting, word came to us to meet in Henry the Seventh's Chapel; where, when we came, an order from the Houses was read, requiring the Assembly to write a letter to the *Classes* of the United Provinces in behalf of Ireland.—The business was deputed to the hands of some half-a-dozen, and we returned to our committees again.

Friday, July 28.]—Two letters, the one written by Dr. *Twiss*, and the other by Dr. *Hoyle* to the *Classes*, were read, and Dr. *Hoyle's* sent in the name of the Assembly, and Dr. *Twiss* desired to send his in his own name, but did not.

Mr. *Selden* out of seven translations of the Bible, viz. 1. Saxon. 2. Wickliff's. 3. One of Henry the Seventh's time. 4. Tyndal's, or Great Bible. 5. Coverdale's. 6. The Bishop's. 7. The last reported [*] Sheol and Hades were translated in Psal. xvi. and Acts ii.

An ordinance from the House of Commons was read, for appointing a committee out of the Assembly, for examining of any plundered, that should be admitted to any sequestration. Some twenty-six were nominated, but any five of them might be a committee.

Then fell we to the articles, about the descent into hell.—Whether the article should be utterly expunged; but this was generally opposed:—or whether the translation of it should be altered; which was not determined, but referred to the next meeting, which was adjourned to Monday next.

This was the letter sent to the *Classes*:—

" Reverendiss. Doctiss. Fideliss. Ministris, una cum Senioribus Classium et Ecclesiarum Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, Brabantiæ, Geldriæ, Fristæ occidentalis, &c. Dominis et Fratribus Honorandis.

" Minime vos latet (Dilectissimi in Christo, ac multis nominibus observandi Fratres) summa Pontificiorum pari cum arrogantia conjuncta crudelitas. Quanta quamque sæva tempestas Hibernicas pervasit Ecclesias, priscis Ecclesiæ cladibus comparanda. Jamque etiam Angliam corripuit, vicinis omnibus, imo toti Christiano orbi, clades, incendia, mortes intentans, non ubi primum cœperat, desitura. Ne vero vos a nobis, tot calamitatum, quas Religionis ergo pertulimues, indicem aut catalogum exspectetis, ubi nulla malorum facies ab fuit."—[*]

Monday, July 31.]—The letter sent by the *Classes* were desired by the merchants (bearers) to be put into English, and it was voted Dr. *Hoyle* should translate it.

Then was read an order, which enjoined to return notice, who had not appeared in the Assembly; who had appeared once or twice, but not often; and who had sent letters to excuse their absence.

Tuesday, Aug. 1.]—A petition was brought into the Assembly, directed to the House of Commons, by many hundreds in Kent, for a supply of able and honest ministers.

The fourth article was taken in hand again, and voted to pass, with proofs, &c.

Wednesday, Aug. 2.]—An order was brought in, whereby the Assembly was required to write a letter to the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, to acknowledge their pious and good expressions towards this Church and State, and to desire them to stir up the people for their aid and assistance to this land. A committee of five members, Dr. *Burgess*, Mr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Young*, were chosen for that purpose.

Thursday, Aug. 3.]—This morning we had a sermon for the committee for the examination of ministers. The Assembly after sermon took into agitation the letter to Scotland; and the letter from thence was openly read, and the committee set to draw up an answer.

Friday, Aug. 4.]—Before the Assembly sat, a petition was read, directed to the Parliament by the poor ministers

of Ireland, but first brought in amongst us, to desire that we would forward the promoting of it.

Being sat, the letter to Scotland was read, and after some debate, concluded upon.

Monday, Aug. 7.]—The petition of some of the Divines of the Assembly, made to both Houses, July 19, was this day come forth in print, and a copy thereof delivered to every one of us.

Tuesday, Aug. 8.]—There was a tumultuous company of women this day to the Parliament Houses, and cried for peace, and they would have peace, whatsoever came on it. But they parted without any hurt.

Wednesday, Aug. 9.]—This day the tumult of women grew outrageous; and many men, and they Papists, were mingled amongst; so that the Parliament guards were forced to violent resistance, and they slew two men and one woman.

Thursday, Aug. 10.]—A letter was brought to Dr. *Twiss* by *Sir Robert Walsingham* from divers gentlemen in Kent, wherein they desired the Assembly to help them to honest and able ministers, to supply the place of divers malignant ones; and their letter named twenty-four such.

Now was the petition against the Antinomians finished and read, and sent away to be presented to the House of Commons.

The names of some books complained of:—"The Honey-Comb;" "Christ alone exalted;" "The dangerous Dish;" "Faith, a Sermon upon Rev. iii. 18;" "The Doctrine and Conversation of John the Baptist."

The names of the persons complained of, Mr. *Randall,* Mr. *Batte,* Mr. *Lancaster,* Mr. *Symeon,* of ——, Mr. *Heydon,* Mr. *Emmerson,* Mr. *Erbury,* Mr. *Towne,* Mr. *Pen.*

In the afternoon I was forced to be absent, being to preach at the funeral of Mr. Du Bois, one of Mr. Le Mott's servants and partners, who got his death-blow in Kent, at the composing of the insurrection there.

Monday, Aug. 14.]—There came an order of the House of Commons, about sending divers Divines of London up and down the kingdom, to stir up the people in their cause, and to inform them of the justness of the Parliament's taking up their defensive arms. Their names were brought into the Assembly for approbation.

Friday, Aug. 18.]—When we were sat in Assembly, the three creeds were read, and many debates were held upon them, but especially about this word, in the eighth article, "they ought thoroughly to be received," as if it set them in too high a place, in an equality with Scripture. At last it was resolved, that that article should be tendered to the Parliament, by way of humble advice, to be read thus, 'The Creeds that go under the name of the Nice Creed, Athanasian Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, are thoroughly to be received and believed, for that the matter of them may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.' Then was there a long agitation about translating the creeds anew, and about setting some gloss upon the preface and conclusion of Athanasius' Creed, which seems to be something harsh; but at last it was concluded, that the creeds should be printed, at the end of the thirty-nine articles; so the determining of these matters referred thither.

Monday, Aug. 28.]—A letter was read, sent by Mr. *Marshal* and Mr. *Nye*, assistants to the commissioners sent into Scotland, dated from Newburne, Aug. 18. concerning a covenant agreed upon by the Scots, and sent to England, for approbation, for the uniting of the two nations for ever.

The Parliament recommended the covenant to the Assembly, to take into consideration the lawfulness of it. The first article of it held us all the day; for we sat till within night. This clause bred all the doubting; "I will endeavour the preservation of the true reformed Protestant religion, in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, discipline, worship, and government, according to the word of God." It was scrupled whether the last words, "according to the word of God," were set for limitation, viz. to preserve it, as far as it was according to the word, or for approbation, viz. as concluding that the Scottish discipline was undoubtedly according to the word. Therefore, after a day's debate almost, it was resolved, that this explanation should be annexed to it; "As far as in my conscience, I shall conceive it to be according to the word of God." This was concluded about five o'clock, afternoon.

Then fell we upon the second article of it: "That, without respect of persons, I will endeavour, according to my calling, to extirpate popery, prelacy, heresy, schism," &c. Where Dr. *Burgess*, who had been exceptious of all others all the day

against the first article, began again to cavil about this clause: "without respect of persons, to extirpate popery," it being a very nice business to know what popery is, and what is meant by extirpation, and I know not what:—Which gave occasion to others, to take the same exceptions, and so hold long debates, and it was very near, that we had parted and gone home, unresolving of the matter; but at last we brought it to the vote, that the words were fit to stand as they were.

Tuesday, Aug. 29.]—We fell upon these words, "prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism," &c. And Dr. *Burgess* began again to except every one of the words, as doubtful: especially the word "prelacy" was thought by others to be too doubtful, therefore this explanation of it was concluded on, "the government by archbishops, bishops," &c. and about noon, with much ado, and great retarding, we had finished the second article; and the Assembly adjourned till afternoon.

In the afternoon the rest of the covenant was despatched with much ado: for Dr. *Burgess* continued in his captiousness; and retarded as much as possibly he could. In fine, it was concluded upon and ordered, that the Assembly should on Thursday morning, by their prolocutor, they attending him to the House of Commons, humbly present their advice to the Parliament, that in point of conscience the covenant may lawfully be taken, with those explanations, which are forementioned.

Thursday, Aug. 30.]—Wednesday was the fast: Mr. *Tuckney*, and Mr. *Coleman* preached before the House of Commons. On Thursday morning we, being met, prepared to go to the House of Commons with our resolves. But here Dr. *Burgess* began to be most uncivil and unmannerly; for having pretended a great deal of sorrow, that he could not in conscience agree with our conclusions, he desired liberty, that he might put in the reasons of his dissent: which being granted, he farther desired, that our resolutions might not be brought in till he had prepared his reasons. This was judged, and that justly, to be intolerable impudency, that the great affairs of two dying kingdoms, should be thought fit by him to stay and wait upon his captiousness. Then from entreating, he fell to challenging, and pleaded we ought to attend for his reasons, from the instructions we had

received from the House for our proceedings. Well, we shook hands with him as soon as we could, and went to the House of Commons, where our prolocutor made a speech, delivered our sense, and concluded with a petition in our name, that the House would please to provide against the people should come to take the covenant, that they might be instructed and prepared for it, that they might receive it holily and with godly fear.

Thanks were returned to the Assembly, not only for their care, but also for the speed they had made, in so great a matter. But our turbulent doctor, put in a petition to the House of Commons, that he might have liberty to bring in his exceptions against the covenant. Thus would he retard there, if he can, as he had done in our Assembly: a wretch, that [*] be branded to all posterity, who seeks for some devilish ends, either of his own or others, or both, to hinder so great a good of the two nations.

Friday, Sep. 1.]—Dr. *Burgess's* petition was sent us by the House of Commons, with an order with it, to consider on it. It was exceedingly derogatory to the Assembly, taxing it with precipitancy and violation of the Parliament rules. It cost us an hour or two debating: at last a committee was chosen to draw up an answer.

In the afternoon the Assembly sat, and an answer to Dr. *Burgess's* petition was brought in, taken into consideration, and resolved upon; and Dr. *Smith,* Mr. *Ley,* Mr. *Carrol,* Mr. *Coleman,* Mr. *Herle,* and myself, chosen for a committee to bring it the next morning to the House of Commons. The two petitioners did now offer to withdraw their petition, shewing their own folly, that would put in a bar against a matter of so infinite weight, and asperse such an Assembly with so much mire and dirt, and yet cared not now, if the matter were undone again. They pretended tenderness of conscience, which caused their dissent from us. But Mr. *De la March* told plainly, 'that he held it for the most dangerous plot and design, since the Parliament sat;' and I believe few of the Assembly took it for any other than a design.

At four o'clock the assembly rose, and went into the star-chamber, where Mr. *Lancaster* was to make his answer, for putting out a book of Dr. *Crisps,* called, "Christ alone exalted;" another of Mr. *Eaton,* called, "The Honey

Comb ;" both replenished with abundance of erroneous and abominable doctrines.

Saturday, Sep. 2.]—This morning we brought the answer of the Assembly, to Dr. *Burgess's* petition, into the House of Commons, where Mr. *Ley* made a speech, certifying it, that 'Mr. *Price* began to repent and relent his error, but not so the doctor.' Whereupon Mr. *Price* was presently sent for, and discharged; but the doctor sequestered and suspended from the Assembly, till he give the two houses of the Assembly satisfaction.

Monday, Sep. 4.]—We heard nothing as yet from Dr. *Burgess,* neither can we tell, what to expect concerning him; his heart is so stubborn, that it is a weighing [*] viz. whether he can digest his disgrace, or whether he will submit and reconcile copies of all these things, that have been mentioned heretofore; as The letter from our divines in Scotland, The Covenant, The Order by which it was transmitted to us, Our Resolution upon it, Dr. *Burgess's* Petition, and Our Answer to it, are these that follow; some already printed, but the rest not as yet come to the light.

Friday, Sep. 8.]—Dr. *Gouge* made an interruption a little, in behalf of Dr. *Burgess,* bringing in his mind in these words: 'He is sorry for the unadvisedness of the proceeding in his petition, but doth utterly disclaim any design against the state, or any intention to asperse the Assembly;' but the matter about him presently fell.

But before we parted, Dr. *Burgess's* business came into agitation; and he being called, said that 'he intended no aspersion on the Assembly; but he found that it was aspersed, for which he was sorry, and desired our pardon.' From us he went into the House of Commons, with a most humble petition; but they would not accept him.

Monday, Sep. 11.]—Being then met (afternoon) we fell about the business of the committee, to meet the Scotch commissioners, about the covenant; and Mr. *White* was added to the fourth forenamed. That being finished, which was soon done, the next clause in the article, &c.—Then was brought in the Scots' order, whereby they are deputed to the present service, dated Edinburgh, Aug. 19.

Wednesday, Sep. 13.]—Being sat in Assembly, Mr. *Palmer* made a motion, for the restoring of Dr. *Burgess,* which held awhile debate. At last it was concluded, that

Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Vines*, and Dr. *Temple*, should draw up something for the purpose.

Thursday, Sep. 14.]—Mr. *White* here interposed something from the Scots' commissioners, viz. 'That they desire to come to the Assembly to-morrow morning;' and it was debated, what we should do for their entertainment; and Mr. *Prolocutor* and assessors were desired to prepare a speech for them.

Then was brought in the petition, which was intended to be sent from the Assembly to the House of Commons, in behalf of Dr. *Burgess*, which was read and was ready to be concluded on; but then it being called to the vote, and I giving some reasons why we should do no such thing, it was concluded that no petition should be sent at all, and so we adjourned.

Friday, Sep. 15.]—Being sat, the Scots' covenant, as it was now passed both the Houses, and the lords of the Scotch commissioners, was delivered to us by Mr. *Salloway*, with an order from the House of Commons to take it now into consideration, to see if in any thing now it might alter our former judgment.

While this was in reading, the Scotch commissioners came in; when the covenant being read, Mr. *White* gave some reasons of the alterations in it.

Then Mr. *Prolocutor* made a speech, to entertain the Scotch commissioners.

Mr. *Hoyle* also seconded him with another speech.

Mr. *Case* also, though not appointed, yet made a speech also.

Mr. *Henderson* made a speech, and laid open the sensibleness of the Scots of our condition, and their readiness to aid us, and the readiness of themselves the commissioners to assist us the best they can, in this work we have in hand. Then did we fall upon the covenant: and Mr. *Palmer* and Dr. *Hoyle* made two short expressions of their joy, for the insertion of the kingdom of Ireland with the two other nations, in the covenant.

Mr. *White*, as we went along, did still explain and evidence the reasons of the alterations. Dr. *Gouge* desired some satisfaction upon the clause, about the preservation of religion in the church of Scotland, which Mr. *Gattaker* answered him, after Mr. *White* had given him sufficient reaons.

Dr. *Gouge,* upon the second article, scrupled about 'the endeavouring to extirpate;' but that was answered, that it had been sufficiently agitated heretofore. The rest passed off, with great deal of consent and cheerfulness. After all was done, Mr. *Prolocutor,* at the desire of the Assembly, gave thanks to God, for the sweet concurrence of us in the covenant.

While this debate was in agitation, Dr. *Burgess* came in, and made a speech, and shewed that he was satisfied with the covenant, and had expressed so much to the House, and they had received satisfaction.

Thursday, Sep. 21.]—The first thing done this day, was the admission of Mr. *Maynton* into the assembly, instead of Mr. *Nye*[a] deceased.

Friday, Sep. 22.]—Before we were got out of the Abbey, we had word to return to our house again; for the Parliament had something to impart unto us; which at last came by the hands of Mr. *Salloway;* namely, 'that the Lords and Commons intended to take the covenant on Monday, in St. Margaret's, Westminster, and sent to us to do the like: and that we should appoint some to pray at the time, and some to give a word of exhortation;' which we did accordingly; and nominated Mr. *White,* the assessor, to pray before, Mr. *Nye*[a] to make the exhortation, and Dr. *Gouge* to pray after.

Monday, Sep. 25.]—This morning being met, we had word presently, after our sitting into Assembly, that the House of Commons was gone to St. Margaret's church, and so we went after them. And after a psalm given by Mr. *Wilson,* picking several verses, to suit the present occasion, out of several psalms, Mr. *White* prayed near upon an hour. Then he came down out of the pulpit, and Mr. *Nye* went up, and made an exhortation of another hour long. After he had done, Mr. *Henderson,* out of the seat where he sat, did the like; and all tended to forward the covenant. Then Mr. *Nye* being in the pulpit still, read the covenant; and at every clause of it, the House of Commons, and we of the Assembly lift up our hands, and gave our consent thereby to it, and then went all into the chancel, and subscribed our hands: and afterward we had a prayer by Dr. *Gouge,* and another psalm by Mr. *Wilson,* and departed into the Assembly again; and after prayer, adjourned till Thursday morning, because of the fast.

[a] Two Mr. Nyes, Philip and Henry, were members of the Assembly.—Ed.

This night the *Lord General*, after his wonderful deliverance and victory at Newbury, came to town, and then next morning both the Houses of Parliament went to Essex House to congratulate his return; and then afternoon being Tuesday, all the trained bands of the city and hamlets were exercised in Finsbury fields, where the General and the House of Commons were to behold them.

Thursday, Sep. 28.]—This morning we were ready, as soon as ever we were sat, to have gone down to Essex House, to have attended on the *Lord General*, and to congratulate his safe return, as the two Houses had done on Tuesday. But when we were ready to go, word came, that his excellency was come to the Parliament House, and so in the Painted Chamber we had access to him. Our prolocutor made a speech, and he answered with many thanks to us all for our respects shewed to him.

Friday, Sep. 29.]—Being sat, we hasted to adjourn, that we might go hear a sermon, at St. Margaret's. For all the lords, knights, gentlemen, Scots, divines, and soldiers, which were now in London, and not inhabitants there, took the covenant; and Mr. *Coleman* by an order preached to them.

Tuesday, Oct. 3.]—The first thing we did to-day, was a motion made by myself, for a determinate resolution about women taking the covenant: for that some in the city, and of our Assembly, called women to the taking of it, and others did not. Therefore I desired, that a uniformity might be settled herein, that none of us might incur prejudice. This held debate a while, but nothing concluded on for the present.

Thursday, Oct. 5.]—Sir *John Clotworthy* came in with a motion from the House of Commons, that the Assembly might be adjourned, and not sit to-morrow, but to meet at Guildhall in the afternoon, and there to countenance a business concerning the Scottish affairs, and to appoint two or three to make a speech there; and Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Sedgwick*, and Mr. *Burroughs*, were chosen for the purpose.

Tuesday, Oct. 10.]—Then was there information against Mr. *Lance* a member of our Assembly, for absenting himself from the Assembly, since the covenant was brought, and for dissuading his people at home, from taking it. There was likewise some discourse about Mr. *Jackson*, for his dealing

in the like kind at Gray's Inn, but at the present nothing was done in it.

In the petition that was going to the House of Commons, we renewed and revived that petition which we had made to them, July 19th, and which produced that fast, that they should seriously resume that into their thoughts, and take some course to reform, according to the necessity mentioned in that petition.

Wednesday, Oct. 11.]—Dr. *Burgess* reported their success with the House of Commons; which was that the Assembly had thanks returned for their care, and that they would suddenly take it into consideration, &c.

UPON THE DISCIPLINE AND LITURGY.

On Thursday the 12th of October, 1643, we being at that instant very busy upon the sixteenth article of the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and upon that clause of it which mentioneth *departing from grace,* there came an order to us from both houses of Parliament, enjoining our speedy taking in hand the discipline and liturgy of the Church, and the order was this:—

Die Jovis, 12 Octobris, 1643.

"Upon serious consideration of the present state and conjuncture of the affairs of this kingdom, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament do order, that the Assembly of Divines and others, do forthwith confer and treat among themselves, of such a discipline and government, as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and nearer agreement with the church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad, to be settled in this church instead and place of the present church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, depending upon the hierarchy, which is resolved to be taken away.

"And touching and concerning the directory of worship or liturgy hereafter to be in the church. And to deliver

their opinions and advices of and touching the same to both or either House of Parliament with all the convenient speed they can.

"J. BROWNE, Cleric.
"Parliamentor."

Friday, Oct. 13.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer out of 1 Tim. iv. 16.

Being set, there was an occasional agitation: for one having tendered himself this morning to officiate in a cure, not being in orders, it was debated whether such a one was to be admitted: but in conclusion it was laid aside, because this very thing, in a manner, is depending in our petition of July 19, in the House of Commons.

Then did Mr. *Palmer* report from the committee appointed for the drawing up of a declaration concerning the lawfulness of the covenant, that they had laid that work by till the House of Commons should call for it.

Next was read this order from the House of Commons:

Oct. 12, 1643.

"It is this day ordered by the Commons' House of Parliament, that the Covenant be read the next Lord's day in all the parish churches and chapels in London, Westminster, and bills of mortality; and that the Assembly of Divines be desired to take care that in such parishes where the ministers are backward or refuse to tender or take the covenant or to instruct the people upon it,—that they do appoint some of themselves to preach there and instruct the people upon the covenant, and to tender the covenant to such as have not taken it.

"HEN. ELSING."

Whereupon divers churches were named where such ministers were thought to be: as Mr. *Lance's*, Mr. *Leeche's*, Dr. *Holesworth's*, Dr. *Stile's;* Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Crutched-friars, Andrew's Holborn; and accordingly were members of the Assembly named for that occasion.

Mr. *Gower* for Mr. *Lance's* church, Mr. *Michelthwait* for Dr. *Stile's*, Mr. *Wilson* for Aldgate, Mr. *Coleman* for St. Andrew Holborn, Mr. *Tuckney* for Dr. *Holesworth's;* but Mr. *Michelthwait* was changed to St. Martin's Ludgate, and Mr. *Cleyton* to Aldgate; and others to other

churches; as Mr. *Channel*, Dr. *Smith*, Mr. *Arrowsmith*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Mr. *Carter*, senior, Mr. *Robrugh*, &c. only Mr. *Cleyton* was changed from Aldgate to Silver-street, and Mr. *Newcomen* to Dr. *Holesworth's*.

This work being finished, there was a motion made by Mr. *White* for a fast before we begin upon this great work of discipline, which motion had been made yesterday: and Monday came in nomination for the day, and was voted, though there were many negatives to it; and it was ordered the time to be from nine to four: the exercise to be the word and prayer, three to pray and two to preach; Dr. *Burgess*, Mr. *Goodwin*, and Dr. *Stanton* to pray; and Mr. *Palmer* and Mr. *Whittacre* to preach.

For conclusion, we had read the order which set us upon the discipline and liturgy; and an order was made to be sent to the several parishes where the fore-named members are to preach; and so we adjourned till Monday morning.

Monday, Oct. 16th.]—This day we kept a solemn fast in the place where our sitting is, and no one with us but ourselves, the Scotch commissioners, and some parliament-men. First, Mr. *Wilson* gave a picked psalm, or selected verses of several psalms, agreeing to the time and occasion. Then Dr. *Burgess* prayed about an hour: after he had done, Mr. *Whittacre* preached upon Isa. xxxvii. 3, "This day is a day of trouble," &c. Then, having had another chosen psalm, Mr. *Goodwin* prayed; and after he had done, Mr. *Palmer* preached upon Psal. xxv. 12. After whose sermon, we had another psalm, and Doctor *Stanton* prayed about an hour; and with another psalm and a prayer of the* prolocutor, and a collection for the maimed soldiers, which arose to about 3*l.* 15*s.* we adjourned till the morrow morning.

Tuesday, Oct. 17.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Micah i. 5,

Being sat, there was a motion made by Mr. *White*, assessor, that the money collected last night might be bestowed upon the widow of Mr. Rood, an honest and religious minister, who lately died in a poor estate, and it was accordingly ordered to be so disposed.

This being finished, we fell upon our business, and Dr. *Smith* made this motion, That since people are so much wedded to custom, that we might move to the Houses, to

* The Rev. Dr. William Twiss, of Newbury.

despatch the covenant into the country, where they have the command,—that it may engage the good party, and prepare the other for the entertainment of what shall be at last determined in government.

Then was read the order that set us upon this work of discipline and government, and the first debate was, whether to begin with government, or not; and, after a little agitation, it was voted affirmatively.

The next thing that came to consideration, was concerning our method for proceeding: and first, it was moved, whether it were not fit to take to question, Whether there were a rule for government to be had in the Scripture.

But, here, I moved for the modification of such a business, that we might enter upon that matter which the second committee had lately in hand, and was forced to lay down, because they wanted the liberty of handling of discipline, namely, to define a church.

Just now came in an order from the House of Commons, that we should send in a certificate of those of this Assembly, that have not taken the covenant.

Then was a motion for beginning with officers in the church; this was made by Mr. *Herle,* and followed by others.

Mr. *Goodwin* urged the prosecution of the first question moved, viz. Whether the word of God contains a rule? and he expressed that he conceived there is a rule. Mr. *Sympson* also followed earnestly this motion: but Mr. *Seaman* as earnestly urged that we might begin with church officers; for that it is impossible to resolve upon this general, but by running through all particulars, through which we are to pass. This business held a very long debate; but my motion was waved, as being too sudden a trial of the differences in opinion that are like to shew among us. After an earnest agitation of the first question, and putting forward of it by divers of the Independents, it was at last voted, that we should let that alone, and first begin upon church-officers.

Then came in question, how we should proceed in these particulars, whether by committees, yes, or no; and special motions were made for our constant conferring in this business with the Scots' commissioners.

Mr. *Bayly* motioned, that every committee should treat upon the very same thing; and this was followed by Mr.

Gattaker, and Mr. *Seaman,* and divers others, and at last it was voted that the three committees should stand as before: and it was ready to go to vote whether every committee should have the same work; but Mr. *White,* the lawyer, gave reason against it: however, it was voted affirmatively.

Then it was propounded that we should get books of the questions that are like to fall under our hands, out of the archbishop's library, and out of the sequestered libraries, laid up in some place where we might have public and common use of them. Here also came into motion, the time the committees should meet; and it was resolved in the afternoon: and so we adjourned till to-morrow morning.

After dinner we met in the committee; and the business we did, was to collect together all the texts where mention of any church officers is, and we set down very many upon which to consider at our next meeting, and appointed then to treat upon apostles, prophets, evangelists, and the seventy disciples.

Wednesday, Oct. 18.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of 1 Pet. i. 15.

Being set into Assembly, the first thing done was, that those members that were designated into the city, on the last Lord's day, should give account of their success in the several places where they were; which they did accordingly. Among other passages, Mr. *Haines,* as Mr. *Channel* reported, subscribed with reservation, having awhile refused to subscribe at all, and having at first cast away the pen. Mr. *Newcomen* related that, at St. Peter's the Poor, there was a little disturbance in the church, when he prayed for the Assembly, but it was soon calmed. And Mr. *Michelthwait,* that the curate at Martin's, Ludgate, refused to take the covenant. Mr. *Robrugh* also reported, that he being at Andrew's Undershaft, had these questions laid upon his desk, as he went into the pulpit:—

1. Whether by any law, reformation may be carried on by some? 2. Whether to swear to government, as this layeth it in the covenant, be not implicit faith? 3. Whether episcopacy refined may not be entertained? 4. Whether we swear not in the second article against the laws of the land?

After these reports were made, these scribes gave account of the names of those of our members that had not yet taken the covenant, and they were these; Mr. *Mar-*

shal, Mr. *Thoroughgood,* Mr. *Reynolds,* Mr. *Clerk,* and Mr. *Hall,* who are all in the country: but none that is in town, that hath not taken it, but only Mr. *Lance.*

Then was there some agitation for provision for those members that have been plundered and want present subsistence: this was referred to the putting in of their names to Mr. *Salloway,* who was present. Next did Mr. *Ley* publish his orders and certificate concerning ministers for sequestrations: and Mr. *Palmer* made a motion that when any minister comes for that purpose, he should have the covenant administered to him, if the House of Commons will give us that liberty: and it was motioned that should be forborne for that punctual proceeding, but that it should be left to Mr. *Ley's* inquiry and examination of them, whether they have taken it or no. But it being farther debated, there was an order made that the scribes against to-morrow morning should draw up a brief of the account the members had given about the covenant on the Lord's day last, and of the names of those that had not taken the covenant; and that the ministers, to be admitted to sequestration, take the covenant here, if it may be permitted. And so we adjourned till to-morrow morning; and sat in committee in the afternoon.

Thursday, Oct. 19.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer upon these words, "Quench not the Spirit."

Our first business after we were sat, was that Mr. *Jackson* did make a large speech in vindication of himself, concerning some aspersions which he conceived to be laid upon him, about his behaviour in matter of the covenant, in his ministry at Gray's Inn. The scribes also published what they had prepared to be sent to the House concerning the passage of the covenant in the hands of those members of the Assembly, that were sent into London the Lord's day last.

There was also a relation made of some malignants, schoolmasters, concerning which Mr. *Salloway* told us the House intended to deal with them as with malignant ministers.

Then did the chairman of the second committee report something of what they had done in the business concerning church-officers, that they might have the judgment of the Assembly for approval or refusal of their method. Their report was this:—

"In inquiring after the officers belonging to the church of the New Testament, we first find that Christ, who is Priest, Pro-

phet, King, and head of the church, hath fulness of power, and containeth all other offices by way of eminency in himself; and therefore hath many of their names attributed to him."

That Christ is priest is proved, Psal. cx. 4, Heb. vii. 17:—2. Prophet, Deut. xviii. 18, Acts. iii. 21, vii. 37:—3. King, Zech. ix. 9, Matt. xxi. 5, Rev. xx. 3:—4. Head, Col. i. 18, 19, Eph. i. 22:—5. He hath fulness of power, Isa. ix. 6, 7, Luke i. 31, 32, x. 22, Matt. xxviii. 18:—6. He contains all offices, Col. ii. 9, 10. 19, compared:—7. The names of church-officers that Christ beareth in Scripture, are these: 1. Apostle, Heb. iii. 1: 2. Pastor, John x. 11: 3. Bishop, 1 Pet. ii. 25: 4. Teacher, John iii. 2, xiii. 13: 5. Minister or Διάκονος, Rom. xv. 8, compared in the original. Matt. xx. 28.

The chairman of the third committee reported also.—They stated these four questions:—

"1. What officers are mentioned in the New Testament?

"2. What officers of these were "pro tempore," and what durable?

"3. What names common to divers officers, and what restrained?

"4. What the office of those standing officers?"

They also drew up this preface to make entrance into the work:

"Jesus Christ, upon whose shoulders the government is, whose name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, of the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end, &c. He being ascended far above all heavens, and filling all things, &c. he appointed officers in the church, the names whereof are these:" but at this last clause there was exception, because their report brought not in all the names that are to be found, therefore it was thus formed:—

"Hath given all officers necessary for the edification of his church, which are named in these and other places, some whereof are extraordinary, some ordinary. 1. Cor. xii. 28, 29, Eph. iv. 11, 1 Tim. iii. 1, 2. 8, v. 17, ii. 4. 5, Tit. i. 5. 7, Acts vi. 2, 3, xiv. 23, xvi. 2, 3, xx. 17. 28, 1 Tim. v. 9, Phil. i. 1."

Out of these Scriptures they found these officers: apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors, teachers, bishops or overseers, presbyters or elders, deacons, widows.

When these reports were done, Dr. *Burgess* also reported the success and issue of that committee that was intrusted with the message to the Houses about restraint of the Antinomians: viz. that the thing now in agitation in the committee, and the House of Commons for that purpose, is this: 1. The way for ordination of ministers; and, 2. The institution and induction to vacant benefices, which that committee of our Assembly desired to be advised about by the Assembly. He himself proposed that there might be as it were a standing presbytery in London for that purpose, till there might be a certain settlement in these things, by the progress of our works. Mr. *Young* moved that young men might exercise their ministry till this settlement without orders conferred upon them: which Mr. *Seaman* backed. But Dr. *Gouge*, Mr. *Gattaker*, Mr. *Palmer*, did very earnestly and very soundly oppose it.

Mr. *Ashhurst*, a member of the House of Commons, spake something concerning institution and induction, that the House intends that all presentations shall be made to this Assembly, and the institution and induction to be given according to the approbation of it.

There was a long time taken in agitation for some course for ordination, in regard of the present times and occasion, which kept us till almost two o'clock, but nothing could be concluded.

Only it was ordered that the two reports, brought in today, should be debated to-morrow. And so we adjourned: and met in committee, we of the second committee afterward, but the other committees adjourned.

Friday, Oct. 20.]—This morning we first fell upon the report of the second committee brought in yesterday: and first there was some scruple whether there might be mention of Christ's priesthood among the offices of the evangelic church, because of the many questions and controversies which have been moved about a priesthood under the gospel. This held some debate: but at last I moved, That since, after all, the results that the committees shall bring in, must be referred again to a grand committee to compile and draw up out of them all what is to be tendered to the Parliament, and that their results must be the thing that we must be punctual in for form and phrase; and that therefore we should refer our exactness for expression till then, and now only be curious

to settle the truth. And this drove on our work with much expedition, save that Mr. *Goodwin* did utterly oppose that such a preface should be made at all, as anticipating our work, and concluding that Christ's influence into his church is through his officers; whereas he queries whether it be conveyed that way or no.

But at last we fell upon the texts alleged, and first on the first clause.

1. "Christ is priest," Psal. cx. 4, Heb. vii. 17. Here Mr. *Goodwin* again tendered the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses, because Melchizedek offered no sacrifice, *ergo*, the places alleged speak not home. And so Mr. *Seaman* also urged that it hardly raught to face the Socinians, who hold that Christ was never priest till he entered into heaven; and so the verses were added.

Mr. *Herle* renewed my motion, and so we went on.

2. "A prophet," Deut. xviii. 18, &c. These past without any gainsaying.

3. "A king," Zech. ix. 9, &c. Here Mr. *Goodwin* urged that these places do not prove that Christ is King in regard of discipline in the church. The last place in Rev. xv. 3, he approved, but Mr. *Seaman* shewed it was read in some copies not *ἁγίων*, but *βασιλεὺς Αἰώνων*; and I added that in the Syrian and Arabic it is דעלמא and דהור "King of the world or ages;" therefore it was waved, and Rev. xvii. 14, was tendered, but waved; Psal. ii. 6, admitted in its stead, and so we passed all those, Zech. ix. 9, Matt. xxi. 5, Psal. ii. 6.

4. "Head," Col. i. 18, 19, &c. Here Mr. *Goodwin* excepted as impertinent, Christ's headship being no office in the church: but this was soon passed over. Here also Dr. *Smith*, Mr. *Arrowsmith*, Mr. *Coleman*, and Mr. *Wilson* were sent as a committee to the House of Commons to report the result of their report that were sent into the city the Lord's day last.

When they were gone, these places were passed, Col. i. 18, 19, Eph. i. 22.

5. "He hath fulness of power," Isa. ix. 6, 7, Luke i. 31, 32, and x. 22, Matt. xxviii. 18.

6. "He contains all the offices," Col. ii. 9, 10. 19, compared. These were passed without contradiction.

7. "He beareth these names:"—1. Apostle, Heb. iii. 1: 2. Teacher, John iii. 2, and xiii. 13: 3. Pastor and bishop, 1 Pet. ii. 25, John x. 11: 4. *Διάκονος*, Rom. xv. 8.

All the other were passed over without a word spoken against them; but Mr. *Bridges* excepted against this last; for that it applieth not the office of deaconry to Christ, but taketh the word in another sense. This held some long debate: and at last it was brought to the vote whether it should be passed or no; and it was voted negatively, and so waved. And thus had we done.

Then Dr. *Burgess* made a motion, That we should make a humble petition to the Houses in behalf of poor honest ministers that are prisoners to the cavaliers, that they might be changed; and Mr. *Chambers* followed it, and named some that lie captive in Bridgewater. And this brought in a motion for provision for the members of the Assembly that want places and means: and it was ordered that those that are in that condition, should bring in their names to Mr. *Ley*, and he should recommend their case to the Parliament's committee for sequestration; and so we adjourned till Monday morning; and we sat in the committee in the afternoon, and our business was to nominate church-officers; and we had some discourse concerning apostles and prophets.

Monday, Oct. 23.]—Dr. *Temple*, chairman of the third committee, reported forward where they had left the last day. And it was upon their second question, viz. What officers were perpetual:—and first they found apostles to be an office only "pro tempore" and extraordinary, as being,

1. Immediately called by Christ, Gal. i. 1.

2. They had seen Christ, 1 Cor. ix. 1.

3. Their commission was through the whole world, Matt. xxviii. 19, Mark xvi. 15.

4. They were endued with the spirit of infallibility in delivering the truths of doctrine to the churches, John xvi. 13, and xiv. 26.

5. They only by special commission were set apart to be personal witnesses of Christ's resurrection, Acts i. 22, x. 41, and xvi. 17.

6. They had power to give the Holy Ghost, Acts viii. 18, and xix. 6.

7. They were appointed to go through the world to settle churches in a new form appointed by Christ, 1 Cor. xi. 23, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

8. They had the inspection and care of all the churches, 2 Cor. xi. 28.

Upon these reasons, and because there is no office in the church that can resemble this, and because there is no promise in Scripture for their continuance, they concluded that apostleship was only for a time and extraordinary.

Then fell we upon debate upon their report that was put in the last day: and the preface was easily passed, being only Scripture terms: but there was some debate upon the offices named whether they were all or no.

Which while we were about, there came in this order from the two Houses:—

"Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that the committee formerly appointed to treat with the Scots [*commissioners, shall be the committee appointed to join with a committee of the Assembly, to meet and treat with the Divines from Scotland, concerning a form of church government, directory of worship, confession of faith, and form of catechism]."

This order cost some agitation, partly about the work to be done, and what is like to be; and partly about the committee to be chosen: and after a long debate it was resolved that those twelve that were appointed before to receive papers from the Scots, and treat upon the covenant, should be the men. Then was there some motion for the adding of Mr. *Bridges*, but it was waved. Then we fell upon our business again, and concluded it: and so adjourned to Thursday morning.

We sat in committee in the afternoon, and agitated this question, "Whether a pastor and teacher were the same office in substance?" and after very long, we concluded affirmatively.

Thursday, Oct. 26.]—Being sat this morning, Mr. *Hill* read a letter from my *Lord of Manchester*, wherein he desireth him to return thanks to the Assembly, in his name, for their respects to him and prayers for him; and desireth them also to return thanks to God in his behalf for his good success.

Then fell we upon the report of the second committee that was brought in last concerning apostles, and upon the first member of their immediate choosing: and it was tendered to add Matt. x. beginning; Mark iii. 14, Luke vi. 13; and Dr. *Hoyle* tendered Acts xiii. 2, about Barnabas,

* The passage within brackets is left blank in the original MSS.; and I have therefore supplied the omissions from the Lords' Journal, vol. vi. p. 265.

but it was waved. Then Mr. *Gibson* ranked Matthias in the same degree, because chosen by lot, and not immediately called by Christ. To this I answered, That the lot did argue his immediate call, because the apostles could not ordain him for an apostle by imposition of hands, but sought to the immediate imposition of Christ's hands by a lot. Then Mr. *Seaman* proposed that there is no difference between the apostleship of Paul and Barnabas, because they are both called apostles, Acts xiv. and in other places. About this matter there was much 'pro et contra,' as that Barnabas is never "called an apostle," but in conjunction with Paul; that Paul and he in this place where they have that joint name, are upon a work that gave them this name generally as men sent only to preach; and not the proper and singular name and office of apostleship. On the contrary, it was argued, that Barnabas had seen Christ in the flesh, for that he was with the apostles at the very first beginning of the planting of the church after Christ's resurrection; and Mr. *Goodwin* added, that the land that he sold, was in Judea in all probability. This matter cost us some large debate about the difference of Paul's calling and Barnabas: and in the agitation of this, divers things passed, and at last our business in agitation came to the vote, and was voted.

Then fell we upon the second clause, about 'seeing Christ,' and here also was some long debate; and here Mr. *Goodwin* revived the business about Paul and Barnabas their equality in apostleship; and speaking upon Gal. ii. on that phrase 'Peter, James, and John, the great apostles,' he held they were called so because they were present at Christ's transfiguration, and at his prayer in the garden. To both these I answered, 1. That Paul and Barnabas are indeed both called apostles, because both sent by the church to preach, as Acts xi. in fin. and xiii. 3; and so we read of others that were so sent: but Paul had a more peculiar apostleship to the Gentiles; for we find not that Barnabas went over into Europe, which is properly the Gentiles in the Jews' sense. To the second, I answered, that it was mistaken; for James that saw Christ transfigured, was now dead, and Paul speaks of James the Less.

So we proceeded in the business, and passed the second and third clauses.

Upon the fourth there were some places offered, as that 1 Cor. i. 18, Rev. xxii. 14; but it was thought there were enow before; only Eph. ii. 20.

The fifth passed without any debate at all.

At the sixth, about their giving of the Holy Ghost, Mr. *Goodwin* urged that Ananias did so; but this was passed over, as not much material to the thing in hand.

Upon the seventh and eighth there was much debate, and divers other places were tendered; but we were satisfied with what the committee had brought in.

But there was an offer to put in these words, "To plant churches and to settle them;" which cost some large discourse, for Mr. *Goodwin* urged that it would be hard to prove that clause. To which divers were tendered; and, among the rest, I offered that in Acts viii. of the imposition of Peter's and John's hands at Samaria, which was for ordaining of ministers. This Mr. *Gattaker* denied; but upon a reply which I gave unto him, there was no more said to it. Howbeit, neither that nor any other addition was received; but we took only the committee places; and so the last two characters of apostles were voted.

Here Mr. *Marshal* came into the Assembly, having been long absent in Scotland.

Here also Mr. *Ley*, chairman of the committee for examination of ministers, published the names of some ministers recommended to be examined: whereupon it was moved, that a special record be kept of all those that passed the Assembly.

And here also Mr. *Seaman* moved, that the scribes might have some amanuensis to help them, for that they are overladen. But the latter of these things was not any thing done for the present; only the first was ordered, that Mr. *Ley* should give in all his certificates to the scribes.

At the last also there was an amanuensis ordered.

There was also some motion about exclusion of Mr. *Brookes*, the keeper of the monuments, who hath often chid us hitherto,—from coming into the Assembly while we were in debate of any thing; but that was not resolved upon for the present.

When we were ready to rise, there came in an order from the Parliament, which giveth the Assembly leave to fetch books out of any library forthwith in the power of the Par-

liament for our use, leaving an inventory of what books are fetched away; and there was a committee appointed to see what books there were to be had. So we adjourned till the morrow, and sat in committee in the afternoon.

Friday, Oct. 27.]—The first thing we did this day was, that the chairman of the first committee reported to this purpose:—

1. They named the church officers.

Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers, bishops, elders, deacons, widows.

The office: Eph. iv. 11, 1 Tim. iii. 1—8, and v. 9—17.

A pastor a perpetual office: Eph. iv. 11—13, 1 Pet. v. 2—4, Jer. iii. 15—17.

The office of pastor. 1. Feeding, and that to preach and to teach, 1 Tim. iii. 2; to convince, Tit. i. 9, and iii.; to reprove, 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17; to exhort, Tit. i. 9; comfort, Tit. i. 9.

2. Dispensation of other divine mysteries, 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2. Sacraments, Matt. xxviii. 17—20, Mark xvi. 15, 16, 1 Cor. xi. 23—25, 1 Cor. x. 16.

As soon as this was done, there was a business moved about two ministers that came before us this morning, that had neither Latin and Greek, whether we should admit such or no; and this cost us a great debate: and at last it was ordered that a committee should be appointed to give in some rules to the Assembly whereby to go in the examination of men for the time to come.

Then did Mr. *Hall* and Mr. *Marshal* take the covenant.

That being done, there was some motion made concerning our proceeding about apostleship, and Mr. *Seaman* tendered this about it, That the apostles had the keys immediately given them, Matt. xvi. 19, John xx. 23, 1 Tim. i. 20, 3 John 9, 10, 2 Cor. x. 6, and xiii. 10.

Here I spoke against the main ground, viz. that the keys were given immediately to the apostles only, for that in John xx. 23, there were more present in the room than the twelve when Christ breathed upon them, as is plain by comparing Luke xxiv. 33, &c. This was denied by Mr. *Coleman*, Mr. *Seaman*, and others, but I proved it punctually; and Mr. *Goodwin* said that this was the objection of Bishop Andrewes.

Monday, Oct. 30.]—This morning we had a collation or sermon by a probationer out of Prov. viii. ult.

Being set, we fell upon the question concerning the keys, and to whom they were given. And we had some debate what to begin upon, whether upon the nature of the keys or upon the parties who received them; but it was without much ado, coming to question whether the proposition, "The keys were immediately given to the apostles, and they exercised them through the world," were true or no; when Mr. *Herle* gave reasons that the thing should be seriously debated before we pass it: as, 1. That it is very questionable whether the keys were given to the apostles or the church; for that it is very probable that they were given to the church formally and subjectively, and not only finally for the benefit of it; for in the natural body the whole man is "subjectum visus vel tactus," though the eye and hand be the instrument. 2. Because the promises are given to the church throughout. To the former he gave an answer himself. The latter was answered by Dr. *Gouge*, Mr. *Bathurst*, and Mr. *Palmer;* especially Mr. *Palmer*, who said the promises were given to the invisible church, but the keys to the visible. Mr. *Bridges* did plead also as Mr. *Herle* did, and granted thus much, that the apostles did receive the keys "sine interventu Ecclesiæ," but not "sine intuitu." This distinction Mr. *Goodwin* said he did not understand. At last the proposition came to the question, and it was voted affirmatively, "nemine contradicente." Then fell we upon the places of Scripture to prove it. Matt. xvi. 19, John xx. 23.

These were putting to the vote, when Dr. *Herle* offered Matt. xviii. 18, and Mr. *Carter*, junior, excepted at the pregnancy of the first place in Matthew; and Mr. *Bridges* denied it at all to prove the keys were given to Peter as an apostle: for that the apostles were not yet apostles, and gave some other reason which Mr. *Seaman* answered: 1. The apostles used the keys, *ergo*, as apostles. 2. They could not receive them in any other relation; not as believers, not as professors, not as members of this or that particular congregation, nor as members of the church œcumenical: and all these he proved particularly.

Here I spake, and granted that in all ages the learned have held that the keys do mean the government of the church; but that for mine own part I held the keys were only given to Peter, viz. to open the gospel to the Gentiles,

which is meant by the kingdom of heaven: and to this Peter speaks, Acts xv. 7, ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων; that is, from this promise given to him; but admitting the phrase in the common sense, I said the phrase to bind and to loose is a Jewish phrase, and most frequent in their writers; and that it belonged only to the teachers among the Jews to bind and to loose, and that it is to be shewed that when the Jews admitted any one to be a preacher, they used these words, "Take thou liberty to teach what is bound and loose." Then Dr. *Temple* gave many arguments to prove the same thing in hand, viz. that the keys were not given to the church, but to the apostles. The like did Mr. *Gattaker*.

Mr. *Sympson* answered Mr. *Seaman* that the apostles used the keys with the church; but produced no proof. Mr. *Seaman* rejoined to him very largely, in sum to this purpose; that the apostles used the keys authoritatively, as a master of a house or the steward doth; but the church ministerially, as the meaner servant doth.

Mr. *Calamy:* The apostles were chosen, Matt. x. and Peter received the promise when he was an apostle.

Mr. *Goodwin:* The apostles never had all ecclesiastical power, nor did execute all, nor did confer all to others.

Thus did we spend the day with 'pro et contra,' upon this subject till about two o'clock; and then we adjourned, resolving to fall upon the same subject to-morrow morning.

Tuesday, Oct. 31.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer out of Rev. ii. 1.

The first thing done, when we were set was, that Mr. *Salloway* the Parliament-man, desired the Assembly to supply the pulpit with some of their members at St. Margaret's on the next Lord's day, being November the 5th; but nothing was concluded on it.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, the business about the proper subject of the keys: and first Mr. *Sympson* fell upon it; that Matt. xvi. 19, doth not prove the proposition. 1. Christ doth not speak to Peter as an apostle; for he was not yet an apostle, because he had not yet received the Holy Ghost; the apostle saith, 'When he ascended, he made some apostles;' and then also he was an apostle before he had the keys.

But this is spoken to him as a believer. The church is said to bind and to loose. This spoken to Peter as Peter,

i. e. "super Petrum." The one of the keys is the keys of doctrine. Now doctrine doth not belong only to ministers; and he cited Bishop Jewel, part 2. p. 145, that saith a layman may bind and loose.

The church hath done something authoritatively; for it hath bound and loosed, together with the apostles, 2 Cor. ii. "forgive the incestuous," Acts xv. 22, 23.

Mr. *Walker* answered: 1. Peter is an apostle, Matt. x. and Peter here hath not the keys given, but the promise of the keys.

Mr. *Goodwin:* Peter here was representative. Peter was yet ignorant in the greatest thing; *ergo,* was not yet an apostle.

On Matt. xvi. 19, he gave his thoughts thus: Peter is not meant here personally, but representatively of the church. And this grand promise is the very first, and is very large and comprehensive.

"I will build my church;" id est, ecclesias particulares.

"The keys:" id est, omnis media salutis; the word 'key' hath relation to the door of faith.

"Binding and loosing:" any way whereby a man's sin is tied.

"Tibi:" id est, to Peter mystical; which he proved by divers arguments.

Here I urged, 'That we might take up the words "verbatim;" for that I saw some take "the kingdom of heaven" for heaven itself, others for the church; which I thought could hardly be made good: but that the common and proper signification of the phrase in the Scripture is the 'preaching of the word to the Gentiles;' and for that I saw that "binding and loosing" was commonly taken among us for the discipline, which I proved only to mean doctrinally, by divers evidences both from Scripture and the style of the Jews;' but this I could not reduce us to. But our question was followed with exceeding large speeches; which held us till two o'clock; and then the vote was given affirmatively, "That this text in Matt. xvi. 19, should be brought to prove the proposition;" and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, Nov. 1.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Prov. viii. ult.

Being set, Mr. *Bridges* desired that something might be added to yesterday's vote; viz. "that the keys were given to

the apostles and the church;" but it would not be hearkened to.

Then fell we upon the next texts to prove the proposition aforementioned; and John xx. 21—23, was voted for the purpose, without any gainsaying.

The next branch: "And did use and exercise them in all churches throughout the world upon occasion;" 1 Tim. i. 20, John iii. Eph. ix. 10, 2 Cor. x. 16, and xiii. 10.

Mr. *Coleman* denied the pertinency of the places.

1. Specially, 1 Tim. i. 20, for that 'delivery up to Satan' is neither remitting nor retaining; for giving up to Satan was for the good of the soul.

2. Giving up to Satan is about the person; remitting and retaining is about sin.

3. The delivery to Satan was not common to all church officers, which the keys were.

Mr. *Herle* answered him, and so did Dr. *Hoyle*. That retention of sin is not the immediate means of salvation, but it may mediately cause such humiliation as may redound to his own good. And divers other satisfactions were given, which took up some long time. There was also some controversy about Παραδοῦναι τῷ Σατανᾷ, which Mr. *Arrowsmith* proved to be some extraordinary work of the apostles to give men into the power of Satan, to inflict on them some corporeal punishment; for, 1. The phrase is in Job ii. Παραδίδωμίσοι. 2. This was the course to punish notorious delinquents, when they wanted the civil magistrate to do it.

Mr. *Young:* The Greek fathers take it so, for temporal punishment, but the Latins for the censure of excommunication; as Tertullian, Hilary, Austin, &c. And Tertullian delivered this opinion when there was no civil magistrate. But whosoever take it for a corporeal punishment, yet they say it was inflicted only upon the excommunicate.

Mr. *Seaman:* The apostles had an extraordinary vindictive power upon those that were without the church, as well as excommunicative power within; as in Ananias and Sapphira and Elymas. But this "traditio Satanæ" was not this extraordinary vindictive power, but merely excommunication: in which is not only negatively deprivation of the communion of the church, but also positive, viz. delivery to Satan: nor did they only excommunicate, but also impressed.

Mr. *Palmer* pleaded for the pertinency of 1 Tim. i. 20, and compared it with 1 Cor. v. 5. 7. 13; and accordingly 1 Tim. i. 20, was ordered to pass.

Then came 3 John 9, 10, to handling; and there was some query how this place proved the thing in hand: but it was soon cleared; and amongst others I gave this resolution: 1. That Diotrephes did there go about to outface and equal the apostles, for so ἡμᾶς is to be understood, as John i. 14, ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν. 2. That he did ἐκβάλλειν ἐξ ἐκκλησίας, and accordingly would John deal with him, and shew who is an apostle and what his place and privilege is. So this was ordered to pass.

Then fell we upon 2 Cor. x. 6, and after some scrupling upon it, was put to the question and voted affirmatively, or that it should pass.

Then was 2 Cor. xiii. 10, brought to agitation, and was ordered without any controversy.

Then Dr. *Burgess* urged that 1 Cor. iv. ult. and v. 3—5, to be added, which was done accordingly; but Mr. *Burroughs* opposed it, for that, saith he, the church is joined with the apostle in the excommunication. But his doubt and scruple was soon answered by Mr. *Seaman* and Dr. *Gouge:* and so we adjourned.

Thursday, Nov. 2.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Psal. xxxii.

The work we fell upon, was the report of the first committee, brought in on Friday last; which enumerated church officers out of Eph. iv. 11.

We began with the office of a pastor: and first upon this position:—

1. "That there is such a continued and necessary office in the church." Eph. iv. 11—13.

There was some debate about the propriety of this text: for that, said Dr. *Temple,* it doth no more prove the perpetuity of pastors more than apostles: therefore he desired that 1 Pet. v.2—4, Jer. iii. 15, 16, should be added here; but Mr. *Coleman* questioned whether a pastor in the Old Testament meant the ecclesiastical officer in the church, and not constantly the civil: to this I alleged Zech. xi. "three shepherds:" which were Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, doctors of the people; and "I feed the sheep of the flock," in the same prophet. Here also did Mr. *Reynor* except at the

same place in Jeremy, as speaking of the church of the Jews after their return out of Babel. To this I answered, that if ever Israel wanted pastors after God's heart, it was at that time, when prophecy was denied and the Sadducees arose. He rejoined that they had rabbins. To this I answered: Their rabbins were so far from being pastors after the Lord's own heart, that they were the ruin of the nation.

After some more debate had 'pro et contra' betwixt him and some others, at last it was voted to pass; and so also instantly was 1 Pet. v. 2—4.

The place in Ephes. iv. 11—13, cost some controverting upon Dr. *Temple's* doubt: but I proposing that the proposition which was intended to be laid in two parts, and the text supplied division to it, might be laid down jointly and in one piece; and accordingly it was suddenly done; and so we got out of a long debate, and came to the office of a pastor which was laid down thus:

The office of a pastor is, 1. Feeding; which is, 1. Preaching, *i. e.* to teach. 1 Tim. iii. 3.

But before the entry upon this, Dr. *Gouge* tendered that that there might be consideration had, whether the reading the Scripture be not the pastor's office. And he proved it is from Numb. ix. Luke iv.

Mr. *Herle* backed the doctor's motion, and so did Dr. *Burgess:* and so we fell intentionally upon this point. Mr. *Seaman* conceived that this office did properly belong to the deacon.

Mr. *Wilkinson,* sen.: The Levites did read the Scriptures to assist Ezra; *ergo* he thought some young men fit for this purpose.

Mr. *Herrick:* A blind man may be a pastor; *ergo,* reading not necessarily the same office.

Mr. *Calamy* produced these places to prove there should be no reading without expounding: Eph. iv. God hath given gifts, *ergo,* we must use them; now reading requires no great gifts, 1 Pet. iv. 1.

Dr. *Temple:* Reading is preaching.

That by which faith may be begotten is preaching; but *ergo,* 1. Reading brings the glad tidings of salvation.

To this Mr. *Marshal* answered, That women and children may receive faith by reading; but they he hoped would not be called preachers.

Mr. *Bathurst:* Constantine Copronymus was converted by reading of Isa. xlvi.

Mr. *Herle:* Though reading may beget faith, yet is it not an ordinance, because not that promise upon it.

Mr. *Seaman:* The reading of the word in reference to God is an act of worship; but in reference to the congregation, it is a means of edification; and in both these references the work belongeth to the pastor, but not necessarily to do it himself; yet not to any member of the congregation neither.

Dr. *Burgess:* 1. Public reading is an ordinance of God. Deut. xxxi. 11, Acts xv. 21, Ezra. 2. This public work ought to be by a public person only, and by one that hath commission from God to dispense this public administration. Deut. xxxi. 9, 10, 1 Tim. iv. 13. 3. That whosoever performeth this, must be in commission to deliver the whole word by preaching as well as otherwise.

Mr. *Marshal:* The reading of the word in public is not an ecclesiastical office.

Mr. *Gibbon* proposed that the pastor and the reader might be two distinct offices.

Mr. *Palmer:* This office to be performed by none but by one deputed of God, Jer. xxxvi. Baruch.

Mr. *Calamy* out of Mr. *Hildersham:* The public reading is God's ordinance, and to be done by a public officer; and we may expect more a blessing upon it than upon the private reading.

Upon this subject we spent the whole day till two o'clock: and when we were ready to rise there came an order to us from the House of Commons, that engageth us to take into revising our judgment which we sent in to the House concerning the Antinomian opinions, and that we should enlarge and print it. And so we adjourned till the morrow.

Friday, Nov. 3.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Rom. i. 16.

Being set, we first fell upon the order that came to us yesterday about the Antinomian business, and we chose a committee for the purpose; Mr. *Walker,* Mr. *Carol,* Mr. *Arrowsmith,* Mr. *Gattaker,* Mr *Channel,* Dr. *Gouge,* Dr. *Burgess,* Mr. *Tuckney,* Mr. *Newcomen.*

Then fell we upon the work of the day, about the office of a pastor: and the chairman of the first committee presented the desire of the committee, that the work of catechizing

might be inserted, and added as one of his pastoral works, Heb. v. 12, vi. 1: and that the pastor hath a ruling power over his flock, 1 Tim. v. 17, Acts xx. 27, 28, 1 Thess. v. 12, Heb. xiii. 7. 17.

This being reported, we fell upon that where we left yesterday, about public reading of the word. And this was agreed on on all hands: "That the public reading of the word is the ordinance of God." This then was inquired, "Whether a public minister is to do this, or any private one?" And here Dr. *Burgess* proved that Joshua's reading of the laws, Josh. viii. ult. was not by himself, but by his command; and for this he alleged Tostatus.

Dr. *Gouge* proposed that it might be ordered as a vote, that "reading of the Scriptures in public is the ordinance of God." Mr. *Nye* gainsaid the proposal, as not seasonable at this time.

Mr. *Wilson* interposed to have spoken to reading with or without exposition, which was awhile gainsaid; but at last being permitted, he said that

1. There is no mention of reading without exposition, as Neh. viii. Luke iv. Deut. xxxiii. 10, Mal. ii. 7, Acts xiii. 15, xv. 21, 1 Thess. v. 27, Col. iv. 16, Heb. xiii. 22.

2. It belongeth not only to the pastor to read. When there was no singular call, there was some time a liberty to preach, much more to read.

1. Reading is not reckoned up as a ministerial gift.

2. It is no ministerial labour.

3. There is no reward promised for reading.

4. Reading is not a bare duty, but search the Scriptures.

5. There is no difficulty in this: and Paul saith Τίς ἱκανός.

I answered only the fourth of Luke, viz. That it is exceedingly mistaken: for that portion which was read by our Saviour, was not in any section in the prophets read through the year; *ergo*, that the lecture in law and prophets was finished, and our Saviour chose this to preach upon.

Mr. *Gattaker* took at me; and I answered him at large.

And Dr. *Smith* took at him, and went about to prove that the reading of the Scriptures was not performed by the pastor, but by one ordained for the purpose; and this he proved out of Justin Martyr, who sets down these three distinct offices in the church, viz.

and so likewise out of Austin, Cyprian, lib. ii. ep. 3. Canones Apostolorum.

Mr. *Nye:* The reading of the Scriptures is a distinct ordinance from preaching or interpreting them: but he also added, that in reading the Scriptures the reader, if he see just cause, may alter the English, if he be versed in the tongues.

Mr. *Bridges:* There is a standing ordinance: and occasional reading without exposition, is also twofold, either an actual exposition, or ability to expound: and he gave his sense, that reading with ability and liberty to expound, is the standing ordinance, but not always actual exposition.

Mr. *Bathurst:* Deut. xxxi. 10. It was impossible the whole law should be expounded in so short a time. In Neh. viii. the exposition was out of Hebrew, which they had lost, into the Chaldee, which they understood.

Mr. *Goodwin,* out of Acts xiii. 15, proved reading without expounding; for there was first reading, then exhortation; and the sermon made there by Paul was not an exposition upon the law and prophets read, but a general treaty upon the whole story.

Mr. *De la March* held the reading of the word publicly to be a singular office; and for this he produced the use of some reformed churches.

Mr. *Wilson* did a little vindicate himself; after which was this vote:—

"The public reading of the word of God in the public congregation is a holy ordinance of God."

Then we had some large debate how to put our next question, "Whether this public reading be the pastor's office?" Mr. *Seaman* proposed it should go thus—"The pastor is to take care for the public reading of Scripture;" but it was utterly disliked.

Here Mr. *Reynor* desired a proof of this position, that this is the pastor's office; to this I answered, The epistles sent to the seven churches are directed to the angels to publish them.

When the thing was coming to the very question, it was much desired to delay the vote for fear of some inconvenience that might follow. And hereupon it was put to the question, whether this should be put to the question; and it

was voted negatively; and so we laid it by for the present, and adjourned till Monday.

But before we had adjourned, Mr. *Palmer* moved, that to our former vote might be added this—"That public reading, &c. is a holy ordinance, though there be no immediate exposition of it:" but Mr. *Seaman* instanced that it might be disgraceful to us by misinterpretation. And this business cost us some debate, but at last coming to the question, it was voted affirmatively.

Monday, Nov. 6.]—This morning being the first Monday in the month, our rules were read over, according to an order made for that purpose.

After this there was some question about the committee for the Antinomian business, whether the old committee should stand, and join with the rest that we chose the last day; and it was voted accordingly that they should.

Then fell we upon the report of the committee, viz. upon 1 Tim. iii. 2, 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17, Titus i. 9, to be produced to prove that "it belongeth to the pastor's office to feed the flock by preaching," &c.; but before we entered upon this, there came in the mention about the question, whether "reading the Scripture without explication belong to the pastor's office," and it was very long before we could resolve upon what to fall; and at last it was resolved by vote that this latter question should be resumed.

Mr. *Reynor* first began to plead against the public reading to be pastor's office. He questioned, 1. Whether the Levites did read in the synagogues: 2. If they did, whether they were fit pattern for pastors in the New Testament.

Dr. *Temple:* That which is a divine public ordinance, belongs to the pastor's office; but this is so, *ergo.*

Mr. *Bathurst:* Luke iv. 16. Our Saviour did customarily stand up to read.

Mr. *Gibson:* 2 Cor. v. 19. The word is committed to the pastor, *ergo,* to read it as well as preach.

Mr. *Chambers* moved, that it might be resolved in some such clear terms, as might not tie it to the pastor only. This the Assembly thought needless, because that they laid the question, not whether the public reading of the Scripture be appropriate, but whether it belonged to the pastor's office; and so it came to the question, and was voted affirmatively.

Then fell we upon the places of Scripture produced, 1 Tim. ii. 3, 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17, Tit. i. 9; and they were voted without any doubting.

Next came to hand, the point of catechising, viz. "That catechising, which is a plain laying down of the first principles of the oracles of God, Heb. v. 12, or of the doctrine of Christ, Heb. vi. 1, is a part of teaching pertaining to the pastor." Here Mr. *Case* desired that it might be brought within the compass of catechising, "That the pastor should go from house to house to inquire into the state of his flock." But this was thought not to fall within compass.

Mr. *Goodwin* questioned how it could be proved expressly by Scripture text, that catechiizng by question and answer, is a public ordinance; though he singularly liked of the thing.

To this Mr. *Palmer* answered: That the rules of reason and nature, do regulate the manner and managing of it; but the sanctity of it God doth back, because it is for edification so very much.

Mr. *Calamy* desired that something might be added for the better clearing of the matter; for otherwise the people will not undergo to be catechised by any but by their own pastor; but this was declined. And so was the thing put to the question, and voted affirmatively.

Then the chairman of the third committee reported again, upon the office of the evangelists; 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11.

Evangelist taken, 1. For a writer of the story. 2. For a preacher of the gospel. 3. For a peculiar office to preach, Acts xxi. 8, 2 Tim. iv. 5.

1. "An evangelist was not called immediately," 1 Tim. i. 3, Tit. i. 5.

2. "Not bounded to this or that place," 1 Tim. i. 3, Acts xvii. 14, 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2. 6, Acts xviii. 5, xix. 22, xx. 4.

3. "They had their doctrine from the apostles," 2 Tim. iii. 14, 1 Tim. vi. 20, 2 Tim. ii. 2, iii. 20.

4. "They sometimes attended the apostles; sometimes were left to order what was wanting in the church," Acts xvi. 3, Tit. i. 5.

This being done, we adjourned till to-morrow.

Tuesday, Nov. 7.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Tit. i. 15.

Being set, Mr. *Painter,* who came in this morning to the

Assembly, took the protestation; and he, Mr. *Thoroughgood*, and Mr. *Clerk* took the covenant.

This being done, Mr. *Wilson* moved that there might be some Scriptures produced for the proof of our vote yesterday, about the pastor's public reading of the Scripture.

Mr. *Marshal* answered, That the Levites were the readers of the Scripture in the Old Testament, and our Saviour, Luke iv.

Dr. *Gouge:* The minister had the book in that fourth of Luke, *i. e.* ὑπηρέτης τοῦ λόγου.

Here I proved at large that none in the synagogues read the law and prophets, but public officers.

1. By their multitude of universities for the education of the Levites for such purposes, viz. forty-eight.

2. By their curiosity, that not a tittle of the law should be mistaken.

Mr. *Reynor* urged that the Levites were not types of the pastor, but the priests were.

To this I answered, that the Levites in the Temple were one thing, and in the synagogue another; for that though those at the Temple were servants to the priests, yet in the synagogues they were their pastors.

For conclusion, we agreed that some reasons should be drawn up to confirm the thing.

As that the priests and Levites under the law were entrusted with the public reading of the Scripture; so also the ministers of the gospel; Deut. xxxi. 9, 10, Neh. viii. 1, 2, ult. Acts xiii. 15, Isa. lxvi. 21, Matt. xxiii. 34.

While we were about this very thing, Mr. *Ley* made a report concerning one Mr. *Anderson*, a plundered divine, who the other week was turned back for want of orders, but now came with a certificate that he had orders; which caused some query how he should come by them:—and in canvassing this business, it was related by Dr. *Stanton* that he was informed that there was some company of ministers in the city that took on them to give orders; which we resolved to inquire after; and so we went on upon our work.

And here Mr. *Wilson* excepted against Deut. xxxi. 9, as speaking of expounding rather than reading.

Mr. *Gattaker:* The length of the lectures would not admit of exposition.

Divers debates were upon this business, but at last it was

concluded the reason and proofs should pass; but there was some agitation about the manner of expression.

This being despatched, motion was made to adjourn, which we did accordingly.

Wednesday, Nov. 8.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Heb. xiii.

Being set, the first thing done, was, that the chairman of the examination of ministers, reported some rules drawn up by a committee for that purpose, for the more exact proceedings in examination, and more sureness that none unfitting may be admitted; which being read, were laid by to be taken into consideration another day.

Then was moved by Mr. *Palmer*, That some course might be taken for payment for our fire, and it was ordered we should contribute our twelve pence a-piece.

Then did Dr. *Stanton*, the chairman of our second committee, report concerning church-officers thus:

"The church-officers under the New Testament, before the ascension of Christ, were John Baptist, the twelve apostles, and seventy disciples. After his ascension, apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, elders, deacons, widows.

"John Baptist's office is described, Isa. xl. 3, compared with Matt. iii. 3; Mal. iii. 1, compared with Matt. xi. 10; Mal. iv. 5, 6, compared with Luke i. 17, Mark i. 3, 4.

"The apostles' office, so far as they had commission from Christ before his death, is laid down, Luke x. 1.

"Christ after his ascension instituted apostles, prophets, evangelists, Eph. iv. 11; besides others, which are commonly expressed by these names, pastors, and teachers, bishops, elders, rulers, and deacons."

Resolved upon the question,

1. "Pastors and teachers are one and the same for the substance of the office;" 1 Cor. xii. 28, Tit. i. 9.

2. "That besides those presbyters which rule well and labour in the word and doctrine, there be other presbyters, who especially apply themselves to ruling, though they do not labour in the word and doctrine; 1 Tim. v. 17, Rom. xvi. 8; the ὁ προιστάμενος, 'he that ruleth;' 1 Cor. xii. 28, κυβερνήσεις, 'governments.'

3. "That deacons are distinct officers in the church, Acts vi. 3, 1 Cor. xii. 28, Phil. i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 8.

4. "That widows, which we read of, 1 Tim. v. 3, and elsewhere, are included under the name deacons."

The chairman of the first committee also reported concerning doctors and teachers in these propositions:

1. "The Scriptures do hold forth the name of doctor and teacher, with some distinction from a pastor, 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11.

2. "The doctor is not an ordinary and perpetual office, the same exactly with a pastor, 1 Cor. xiv. 3, and xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11.

3. "A doctor is of excellent use in universities and other places, Acts xiii. 1, Rom. xii. 8.

4. "One minister in a congregation, whether he be called doctor or pastor, if there be no more ministers, is to perform all things belonging to the pastor, 2 Cor. xiv. 3, and xii. 28, Eph. 4. 11.

5. "A teacher's office is especially to inform the understanding, Neh. viii. 1—3, Ezra vii. 6. 10, Titus i. 9, Acts v. 3, 4."

This report also was laid by to be debated another day.

Then fell we upon where we had left the last day, viz. "That it is the pastor's office to feed the flock by the dispensation of other divine mysteries;" 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2, "and administration of the sacraments;" Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, Mark xvi. 15, 16, 1 Cor. xi. 23—25, 1 Cor. x. 16.

Mr. *Coleman:* The Scripture doth not seem to ascribe any particular action to the pastor in the administration of the Lord's supper. To this divers answers were given: as the cup which we bless: viz. we, as ministers: and the institution by Christ, &c.

Old Mr. *Wilkinson*, senior, did very roundly answer, that he did never hear from the learned such a question, as, whether the pastor hath to do more in the sacrament than others.

And the rest of the Assembly cried the thing down exceedingly, as not worthy to be answered; and so was the proposition ordered. Mr. *Nye* tendered Matt. iii. 13, John i. 26, but they were refused.

Then fell we also upon another clause: "It is the pastor's office to bless the people," from Numb. vi. 23—27, Rev. i. 4, 5, Isa. lxvi. 21, 2 Cor. xiii. 14, Eph. i. 2.

Mr. *Wilson* questioned whether the pastor is to bless in the Assembly: for that the places in the New Testament were but blessings in letters. He excepted also against Isa. lxvi. 25; to which I gave him an answer.

Mr. *Goodwin:* The blessing in Numb. vi. hath reference to the Three Persons; which the New Testament explaineth; and in the words, grace and peace. David and Solomon blessed the people; and holy parents, their children.

Mr. *Gattaker:* In Deut. x. 8, the Levites were to bless.

Dr. *Burgess:* If they blessed in their letters, there can be no argument to contradict their doing so in preaching.

Mr. *Gibson* added Luke x. 5, to clear it.

Mr. *Herle* proposed, that it should be explained what this blessing of the people is; but this was not held the proper place.

Then fell we upon another point, or clause: viz. "It belongeth to the pastor's office to pray with and for his people," &c. Acts vi. 2—4, and xx. 36, James v. 14, 15, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16.

Here Mr. *Herrick* urged, That it should be expressed, "That it is the pastor's office also to curse, upon occasion;" but this was waved for the present.

Mr. *Arrowsmith* also moved, to take special notice concerning residency, which was thought very fitly proposed, and (here my Lord of *Manchester* came in amongst us) followed by some very earnestly it should be here concluded on.

Mr. *Walker* urged, that the word "vigilant" might be used instead of "resident;" for that one may be resident and yet idle enough; but this was thought fit to be waved for the present.

Here my Lord of *Manchester* made a speech, wherein he most nobly acknowledged the sole goodness of God in these his successes, and his thanks to the Assembly for their respects.

Mr. *Prolocutor* did also answer him, with many thanks and prayers, in the Assembly's name.

Then fell we upon the proposition forenamed: and there was some agitation upon Acts xxv. 36; and Mr. *Young* desired that it might be specially laid forth, that the pastor is to pray when he preacheth, because of the tie for prayer in the pulpit, that the bishops laid upon us: viz. out of the canon.

Here was also moved the question, about the pastor's private praying for his flock; but the proposition was ordered, and this question waved.

Then was called to adjourn: but before, the business

about Mr. *Anderson's* ordination came into mention; and it proved that Dr. *Holmes* and Mr. John *Goodwin* had ordained him: whereupon it was desired by the Assembly, that Mr. *White* and Mr. *Salloway*, the parliament-men, who were now present, should be pleased to impart the thing to the house; which they promised to do.

There fell in also mention of Mr. *Locker*, a preacher in London, who asperseth the Assembly in his sermons, and exhorteth to gather new churches, &c.; so we adjourned.

Thursday, Nov. 9.] This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Matt. iii. 2.

The first thing we had in agitation, being set, was that Mr. *Bridges* brought in a paper under the hands of Dr. *Holmes* and Mr. John *Goodwin*, whereby they disclaimed their ordaining of Mr. *Anderson*; which cost some time, more than we had well to spend.

To take this business off, Dr. *Gouge* proposed, that we might fall upon our work, viz. about the pastor's duty to pray for his people; but it would not do, but still the business went on about this ordination, till Sir *Robert Pie* spoke against the debate as impertinent.

Then we fell upon the query, "Whether the pastor having a ruling power over the flock?" which the committee had brought in affirmatively; 1 Tim. v. 17, Acts xx. 17. 28, 1 Thess. v. 12, Heb. xiii. 7. 17. 24. Mr. *Gattaker* spake against the pertinency of Acts xx. 28, because there is no mention of ruling in it; but Dr. *Gouge* and Dr. *Temple* approved it out of the word ἐπισκόπους.

Mr. *Seaman* urged that 1 Tim. iii. 4, 5, should be added, but it was waved.

Mr. *Nye* doubted 1 Tim. v. 17, would be too obscure; but this was easily cleared, that the verse speaketh of the feeding or preaching elders, howsoever it doth to the lay elders; and so the proposition with the proofs were voted to pass.

Then Dr. *Temple* proposed this as a part of the pastor's office to take care of the poor, Acts iv. 35. 37, xi. 13, 1 Cor. xvi. 1. Mr. *Palmer* added Gal. ii. 10. Mr. *Marshal* also backed the motion; but Dr. *Burgess* answered, That indeed it belongeth to the pastor to exhort and stir up those who are appointed to look to the poor, to be careful of the work; but that the examples alleged are not so very suitable to these times, for then there was no provision for the poor

but by the ecclesiastical officer; but now we have civil laws for that purpose.

Dr. *Temple* followed his motion: 1. There are wants of the poor still. 2. People are still strait bound in charity. 3. The officers for their relief are still slack.

This controversy grew very large; and for the close of it, I desired that it might be considered, that the first carers for the poor, or deacons, were preachers before they were deacons; which I proved, 1. By this, that they were full of the Holy Ghost before they had the imposition of the apostles' hands. 2. Philip was a preacher, Acts viii. Now either he was ordained to this before he was deacon, or the ordaining of him a deacon made him a preacher, which will breed a confusion in it.

Mr. *Goodwin:* 1. If there be no deacon, the pastor hath the power of the deacon. 2. If the deacon neglect, he may reprove. 3. He may do it himself; yet may the deacon distribute the alms without the pastor, for that he is the officer of Christ, and not of the pastor.

It was therefore at the last put to the question, and voted affirmatively, "that it belongs to the pastor to take care of the poor."

Then was there some debate about the texts of Scripture; which at last were voted, and so we adjourned.

Friday, Nov. 10.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

Being set, our first discourse was something upon the by, concerning the seating of Mr. *Byfield,* our scribe, in St. Andrew Undershaft, whether one Mr. *Cooke* was chosen by the parish; but the end of this was referred till the parish should come to petition, which was told us they would do to-day.

Then also was some short agitation about the clancular ordination of Mr. *Anderson.*

Then fell we upon the rules for the examination of ministers, which had been brought in the last day.

The sum of which was this:—

1. That the chairman of that committee begin with prayer.

2. That the party examined shall be dealt withal in all mildness and gravity.

3. That the examination be made by the chairman: and if any other of the Assembly present desire to propose a

question, he shall propose to the chairman, and the chairman to the [*]

4. That attention be given by those that are present.

5. That the party be questioned whether he be in orders, and by whom ordained.

6. Whether he have brought sufficient testimony for his good conversation?

7. Whether he will officiate in his own person, viz. by preaching and administration of the sacraments?

Here Mr. *Marshal* moved, that some addition might be made to this for clearing it; because there is none that comes to a people, that yet knows whether he shall find some that are not fit to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

This cost some large debate, and that exceeding long indeed, for it took up all the day; and that with a great deal of vehemency: and at the last, with exceeding much ado, it was thus concluded. 1. It was put to the vote whether this proposition or rule, as it was brought in by the committee; and it was voted affirmatively. 2. The rule or the question to be proposed to the minister examined was put to the question; and it was voted affirmatively.

Then there arose another question, Whether this addition should be subjoined; "and to administer the sacrament to those that are fit:" but this I only at first excepted against, and gave divers reasons to shew the doubtfulness of it; which Dr. *Burgess* backed, he then being in the chair and place of the prolocutor; and Mr. *Palmer* after him. But it was carried against us, and voted affirmatively to be added: and so we adjourned till Monday morning.

Monday, Nov. 13.]—Our business this morning was where we left on Friday; viz. in the rules for examination of ministers that are to be admitted to sequestrations.

8. Whether he hold the church of England for a true church, and the ministry of the church of England a true ministry?

Mr *Nye* desired there might be some explanation upon this; for, saith he, it is very ambiguous: which cost some debate.

Mr. *Bridges* at last moved it might be waved as tending to bring on the business of subscription.

To this Mr. *Marshal* gave an answer, that so also may be said of any other of the questions to be proposed.

The debate was upon the business, Whether this question should be proposed to ministers examined, and very many spoke to it.

Mr. *Calamy:* 'The word church in Scripture is often taken for divers congregations associated. Acts viii, the church at Jerusalem; yet eight thousand one hundred and twenty in it. Acts ix. 12; Paul and Herod persecuted the church; and the whole church made prayer for Peter, Acts xv.'

The church is a true church, if it have the essentials of truth, though there be divers spots in it.

I also spake to it: That this was the question betwixt our Saviour and the woman of Samaria; and if she had directly asked him whether the church of the Jews were the true church, he would doubtless have directly answered It was; for otherwise God had no church in the world; and yet was the church of the Jews at that time in a worse constitution than the church of England now.—After this it was tendered by Mr. *Nye* that it should be thus expressed, "Whether the church of England be a true integral part of the catholic church;" which was embraced and called for to the question; but was gainsaid by Mr. *Herle,* and desired by Dr. *Gouge* and Mr. *Whittacre* that it might go to the question in the plain terms in which it was first laid down: and so at last it was put to the question whether it should so pass; and it was voted accordingly affirmatively.

Then it was agitated, whether the forenamed addition should be subjoined, or any other addition at all; and being put to the question, it was voted negatively, that there should be none.

Then fell we upon the clause about the ministry of the church of England, and it was moved, by some, that it might be put in, "The ministry in the church;" but this was not embraced; then was it put to the question, "Whether there should be any addition to the latter branch about the ministry?" and it was voted negatively.

Then followed a clause in the rules, "That if he answer negatively to any of these, he shall not be admitted, but be dismissed;" which, with a little ado, was voted to pass, save that Mr. *Herrick* protested against it.

9. If he give an affirmative; then his testimonial to be taken into consideration, whether valid or no.

10. If any thing be doubtful about the testimonial, then the committee to report upon it to the Assembly.

11. What authors he hath been versed in.

12. Where he hath officiated, and why he leaves.

13. What skill he hath in the tongues and logic.

14. Trial of his knowledge in the chief grounds in religion.

15. That he be put to preach if he have leisure.

16. Trial to be taken how he can work upon consciences.

17. To be asked what he thinks of catechising, and of the right way of visiting of the sick.

18. Inquiry after the nature of the place.

19. Upon his withdrawing, those that are present, to give their censure of his answers.

20. His certificate to be first published in the Assembly, and to be despatched without paying any thing.

21. That no chairman be made for this, but by the Assembly.

These thirteen last passed without any debate.

This being done, Dr. *Burgess* moved, that we might renew our information afresh to the House of Commons, concerning the clancular ordinations and gathering churches in London: for that Mr. *White* and Mr. *Salloway* have not yet had time and opportunity to do it: and upon this Mr. *Seaman* moved, that we should fall upon settling the churches in London.

And Mr. *Calamy* related, that, yesterday, there was a ticket sent to him in the church, which infringed the privilege and credit of the Assembly, and that it is not fit to wait or attend upon its determination for settlement.

There was also brought in a note from one Mr. *Arthur Swanwicke,* that relateth that he will justify it, that some have complained that they could not have freedom of speech in the Assembly; and that, though they offered disputation six to six, they were denied it; which was also appointed to be informed to the House of Commons.

So there was a committee chosen for this purpose, and so adjourned till to-morrow morning.

Tuesday, Nov. 14.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

Being set, Mr. *Marshal* brought in a report from the committee of the Scots, and of the Houses, and of the As-

sembly, importing the desire of the Scots' commissioners, which they had imparted to that committee, viz.

1. That they are very willing and ready to submit to the judgment of the Scriptures, yet they cannot but remember, how eminent and excellent testimonies have been given of the reformation in Scotland; and, for this, produced Mr. George Wiseheart, the martyr, Mr. Beza, the Body of the Confessions, page 10, King James' Basilicon Doron, Mr. Brightman in Apoc. cap. 37, Mr. Cartwright, Hist. Christi ex Four Evangelists; those of the Separation, and some [*] Ar.

2. That there are these four permanent officers in the church; pastors, teachers, ruling elders, and deacon: this their church hath ever retained; and their teachers are readers in the universities; but wish some were added to catechize.

3. The church not to be governed by one man, nor by the multitude; but by pastors, teachers, and ruling-elders; nor hath one church authority over another.

4. Four sorts of assemblies among them, church sessions, or particular eldershires, classes of presbyters, provincial synods, national assemblies.

The report being read, which was very long, Dr. *Burgess* moved, that Mr. *Marshal* would relate whether the committee had examined, by Scripture, that part of it which concerns church-officers.

To which Mr. *Marshal* answered, that the committee had not debated them all, but had referred it to the Assembly.

Then fell we upon the report of the first committee concerning the doctor and teacher.

1. "The Scriptures hold forth the name of doctor and teacher, as well as of pastor," 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11.

This was ordered without gainsaying.

2. "The doctor is not an ordinary and distinct office from a pastor, in every particular congregation," 1 Cor. xiv. 3, and xii. Eph. iv. 11.

To this Dr. *Burgess* spake in confirmation of it, and it was called to be ordered; but Mr. *Hodges,* Mr. *Bridges,* and Mr. *Goodwin,* stood up to speak against it.

Mr. *Bridges* desired the question might be laid, "Whether the teacher and pastor be not distinct suâ naturâ," which Dr. *Burgess* gainsaid to be the present work.

So there was some large debate to state the question.

Mr. *Goodwin:* The Scripture divideth the officers of the

church in Προφητεία and Διακονία, as Rom. xii; and under Προφητεία, Διδαχὴ and Παράκλησις, as distinct things.

Here Mr. *Calamy* urged, that it might be put to the question, "Whether it should be put to the agitation, whether pastor and teacher are the same office for substance;" which was a position which our second committee had brought; which, after an exceeding long debate, was at last put to the question, and voted affirmatively.

Then my Lord *Wharton* spake that the Lords had all resolved to have been here to-day, but that some special important business took them off.

Then fell we upon the debate of the question proposed, and Mr. *Walker* first spake against it; and so did Mr. *Carter* and Mr. *Sympson*, and others. But divers answered them, as Mr. *Herle*: The substance of the office is twofold, Δύναμις and ἐξουσία, and both these are in either of the two parties named.

The debate about this held us all day, and yet did we not conclude it.

When we were breaking up, there fell some mention concerning the Independents gathering churches in the city and elsewhere; which Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* promised to present to the Houses.

Wednesday, Nov. 15.]—The first thing done to-day was that the prolocutor made a motion from the committee of the militia at Worcester House for a minister to be sent down to the army to Sir *James Herrington*. It was concluded upon that some should be appointed to take care for it, viz. Dr. *Stanton*, Mr. *Sedgwick*, Mr. *Case*, Mr. *Ley*, Mr. *Painter*.

Then fell we upon where we left, about the question "Whether pastor and teacher be the same?" namely, upon Rom. xii. and 1 Cor. xii. 8, which had been urged yesterday by divers, to prove that pastor and teacher are different officers.

Mr. *Gattaker* spoke first to give answer to them, and this rule, that matters of institution are as stars of the first magnitude, bright and clear; but these places hold not out any such clear light.

Mr. *Bridges* spoke to Rom. xii. Where there are several distinct works to be performed by several persons that have several gifts, there are several officers; but in Rom. xii. there are such.

That it speaketh of distinct persons, he proved out of the distinctive phrase, " or."

The measure of faith, ver. 3, he expounded with Beza, of the gift of Christ, as Eph. iv.

Mr. *Marshal* offered, that we should express it thus, " That pastor and teacher are different administrations, though they do one and the same thing."

This was much urged to be put to the question, but Mr. *Ley* first, and after him Dr. *Temple*, opposed it, as proving that this word " administrations" would prove as obscure as officers ; and this cost some large debate, which while we were about, Dr. *Burgess*, from some gentlemen, made a motion, that the Assembly would attend Mr. *Peake*, now deceased, to his grave to-morrow in the afternoon; which was resolved on.

Then returned we to the business again; and treating very largely of this business, Dr. *Burgess* desired that one of the Scots' divines would speak in this business, which Mr. *Henderson* did, advising that as the churches reformed have their eyes upon us, so should we have our eyes upon them, and in this point particularly.

It was after this urged, that this proposition, " The pastor and the doctor are equally ministers of the gospel;" which when it was urged, Mr. *Henderson* again desired, that we would be wary lest we give offence and prejudice to other churches. He also, after some further debates about this, spoke again, that we would not in metaphysical and abstract notions consider of these things, but go to work to determine what offices we think fit to be in the church, without more ado.

Then fell we upon this quære, " Whether we should debate the agreement or disagreement of pastor and teacher?" and it, being put to the question, was voted accordingly, that the agreement should be first debated.

Then was it voted also, " That pastor and teacher are equally ministers of the gospel." After which we adjourned, resolving to fall upon the differences of them to-morrow morning.

Thursday, Nov. 16.]—The first thing done this morning was some agitation about Mr. *Byfield's* recommendation to Andrew's Undershaft.

Then fell we upon our business, and the report of the

first committee concerning doctor and pastor was read: but it was not insisted upon, but laid by, and we fell upon the agreement and difference between them; and it was suddenly resolved, "That they both may administer the sacraments alike."

Then was read this proposition of the first committee: "That the doctor is not an ordinary officer distinct in every congregation," 1 Cor. xiv. 3, and xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11.

There was some time spent in stating this question.

Mr. *Calamy:* Things are "jure divino," two ways, preceptive and approbative; so if the doctor be either, it sufficeth.

At last it was thus stated, "That the doctor or teacher is not an ordinary and perpetual officer, 'ex instituto Christi,' distinct from a pastor in every distinct congregation."

Dr. *Temple* went about to prove the pastor and teacher not to be distinct, but one and the same.

1. The teacher in the enumeration of the officers is not distinctly set down, Eph. iv. 11. Ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, are one and the same, for there is "copula sine articulo." So 1 Cor. xii. 25, teachers only mentioned, and not pastors, Phil. i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 8, and Tit. v. 7.

2. A teacher hath nothing to do or intend, which a pastor hath not, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 2 Tim. iv. 2, Tit. i. 9, 1 Pet. v. 1, 2.

3. Teaching is only a gift; *ergo*, not a distinct office, Rom. xii. 6.

4. The church of Christ may be complete in respect of all ministerial acts of word and sacraments without a teacher as a distinct officer.

Mr. *Goodwin* answered to these: 1. The scope of the places mentioned do not exactly enumerate all sorts of officers.

2. The named gift where offices are mentioned, signifieth an office, as Eph. iv. 11.

Then went he on to argue to the contrary, but it would not be permitted till his answer had an answer.

Dr. *Smith* did distinguish betwixt χαρίσματα, Rom. xii. and Δόματα, Eph. iv.

Mr. *Seaman:* Eph. iv. nameth only the officers for the ministry, and not all for the church.

Mr. *Calamy* pleaded for the distinction of the two offices out of Eph. iv. 11, which Mr. *Gattaker* answered. After

many and long debates I also spake to it; that I was of a strange indifferency in this place and point, for with the one part, I held these two here named are distinct offices, that it was for "hic et nunc, et ad tempus," for that Μέχρι καταντήσωμεν, &c. in the next verse meaneth, "the coming in of the Gentiles," and that is the ἑνότης πίστεως, μέτρον ἡλικίας, &c. there spoken of; and that these officers were those that God appointed for the bringing in the Gentiles to union with the Jews, ἐν ἑνότητι πίστεως, and therefore is no institution of full offices for the time to come. A pastor, indeed, is to continue, but this "ex necessitate rei," rather than "unius loci." But a doctor is not of such necessity. Then, indeed, there was, as Acts xiii. 1, προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι; but it was κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν, id est, "according to the church being," but now not so.

Some more things were spoke by others to this place; and so we adjourned, and went a very full company to Mr. *Peake's* burial, where Mr. *Congar* preached.

Friday, Nov. 17.]—This day we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Mic. vi. 5.

Being set, we fell upon our business about the identity or difference of pastor and teacher.

Mr. *Goodwin* began upon it, to prove their distinction out of Rom. xii. out of which he went about to prove this: 1. That the matter of offices is there meant; after the apostle had done the matter of doctrine, he comes in chap. xii. to apply to the Romans; and that as, 1. Number of the church. 2. Of the state.

1. He begins with the public worship; ver. 1, λογικὴ λατρεία, "your word worship;" λογικὴ, opposed to human intentions; spiritual to bodily rites.

2. He treats of officers, ver. 3, the rule is φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν. Φρονεῖν, is to mind their several places; this he illustrates, ver. 4, and then applies, ver. 6, in two parts; 1. We are one body. 2. Having different gifts, &c.

This analysis or division argues it to be meant of offices. Προφητεία, διακονία, and προϊστάμενος, shew offices. Παντὶ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν, id est, "those that are eminent among you." 2. That these are differing offices. 1. Because he speaks according to the similitude of a body whence different members have different πρᾶξις. 2. Διάφορα χαρίσματα. 3. Μέτρον and ἐμέρισε.

2. The scope is that men should not intrench upon one another's office.

The examination nameth persons in the diversifying particle εἴτε, and the article ὁ.

He describes their offices by their acts, because he speaks "ad idem."

4. He exhorts they should wait upon their employment; which if he had spoken of gifts, he would not have said, 1 Tim. iv. 16, ἔστω ἐν αὐτῷ, "Let thyself wholly to it," ἐν ἁπλότητι, id est, "distribute the public stock without partiality."

3. That these have a divers institution.

The apostles first preached and then wrote; and they preached the will of Christ; and when they write, they write supposing them constituted according to their preaching: λέγω ὑμῖν διὰ χάριτος, ver. 3, is institution.

4. That he intends a particular congregation.

Mr *Herle* answered him at large, 1. Ὄντι signifieth properly a being, not eminency. 2. Every member hath some χάρισμα, or other, &c.

Mr. *Goodwin* also rejoined, and that very largely. And then was there debating upon the point, even till we rose; and then also upon a motion made by Mr. *Henderson* for that purpose, the business was referred to a committee, and six were chosen for that purpose. In the afternoon I went into London to preach the funeral sermon of Mr. *Charles Yeomans*, my parishioner of St. Bartholomew's, one that had fined for sheriff of London.

Monday, Nov. 20.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

Being set, Mr. *Sedgwick*, in the name of Mr. *White* the lawyer, desired that those that wanted places of sequestration, might give in their names to him, that he might provide for them as soon as possible; and so were divers names given in.

Then was read a commission from Scotland that sent Mr. *Robert Bayly* and Mr. *Samuel Rutherford*, and an order from the Houses that gave them access into our Assembly; after which they were fetched in, and Mr. *Prolocutor* made a speech for their welcome.

Then was read a letter from the divines of London, in which they urge us for some settlement betimes; as, 1. For

ordination of ministers. 2. For distinction of people that come to the sacraments. 3. For catechising. 4. For some cause against Brownism, Anabaptism, Antinomianism. 5. Against scandalous and debauched persons. 6. Against the gathering of churches, for which they desire us to make all possible speed.

Then was also read another request from some Oxford men and youths, who desire to go on in the study of university learning, and dare not go to Oxford; that there might be some contrival of a college somewhere about London, where they may go on in their studies, and their time go on for their degrees, when the terms shall be open.

Dr. *Burgess*, after this, made a motion that the Assembly should put forth a declaration of our sincere and real intention to do our best as soon as possible; and that we should humbly move to the Houses, That some collops might be cut out of deaneries and chapters for the cherishing of young scholars.

This cost some agitation, and at last it was concluded to refer it to a committee.

After which Dr. *Burgess* reported from the committee chosen on Friday, concerning the business about pastors and teachers.

Viz. "To have pastors and teachers in the church is agreeable to the word of God;" Eph. iv. 11.

Then he produced these propositions given by Mr. *Henderson*. 1. The Scripture holds forth the name of doctor and teacher, as well as pastor.

2. A teacher may be in a particular church where there is a pastor, though not always necessary in every particular congregation.

3. A doctor is of excellent use in schools and universities, they being either churches or parts of the church.

4. Where but one minister is, he is to do the office both of pastor and teacher.

5. The nature of the doctor's office is to expound Scripture, to hold forth sound doctrine, and to convince gainsayers.

Then fell we upon debating those propositions.

Mr. *Henderson* spoke once or twice to put on the first proposition, "that the Scripture holds out the office of a doc-

tor," &c. which Mr. *Palmer* said he could not be convinced of. Mr. *Calamy* spoke to answer him.

Mr. *Vines* spoke also very largely to the proposition, as Mr. *Palmer* had done. And indeed this business held a very long debate, and divers spoke very largely to it.

At last Mr. *Seaman* motioned, that this debate might be awhile suspended; but this was not hearkened to. Mr. *Henderson* and Mr. *Palmer* offered several tempers for accommodation, and so did others, and so we spent the session without conclusion of any thing; but only determined this by vote, "that we should to-morrow first consider wherein we agree in this question about pastors and teachers." And for that purpose was a committee chosen; and so we adjourned.

Tuesday, Nov. 21.]—Our first work this morning was that the chairman of that committee that was charged with recollecting of our argument in general in the point of pastor and teacher, did report thereupon to this purpose:—

1. That there be different gifts, and different exercises, according to the difference of those gifts in the ministers.

2. Those different gifts may be in and exercised by one and the same minister.

3. Where there be several ministers in the same congregation, they may be designed to several employments.

4. He that doth more excel in exposition, doctrine, and convincing them in application, and accordingly employed therein, may be called a teacher or doctor.

5. A teacher or doctor is of excellent use in schools or universities.

6. Where there is but one minister in a particular congregation, he is to perform, so far as he is able, the whole work of the ministry.

Dr. *Gouge* proposed that Scripture proofs might be produced for every proposition; but this was moved till the propositions were agreed upon.

The two first were agreed without any debate upon them at all. The third was something excepted against, but soon passed over and ordered; and so were the three last without any gainsaying.

Then were places produced for confirmation of every proposition: and to the first these, Rom. xii. 6—8, 1 Cor.

xii. 4—7. To the second, 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 2 Tim. iv. 2, Tit. i. 9.

Then was some exception at 1 Cor. xiv. 3; and among the rest I challenged it as speaking of prophecy in its proper sense: and this was somewhat agitated and Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* desired that in regard of the doubtfulness it might be waved; but it was voted against us.

To the third Dr. *Burgess* offered some texts for proofs, Rom. xii. 6, 7, &c. which were excepted against, as laying a tie upon the designation to this or that exercise, and leaveth itnot at liberty that they may be designed.

This cost some large debate: but at last it was put to the question and voted affirmatively, though divers gave the negative, and among them myself.

Then Mr. *Chambers* offered 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11, which had the same scruple that that before: but being after awhile put to the question, it was voted affirmatively to pass for a proof.

Then Mr. *Goodwin* tendered 1 Cor. iii. 5—7, but it was voted.

To the fourth, 1 Cor. xii. 28, was also tendered by Dr. *Burgess:* but it was held by some to be needless to prove this proposition: it was therefore concluded upon this, "That all the places of Scripture alleged, that speak of teacher, do by the very notation prove the proposition."

To the fifth, Dr. *Burgess* also offered Acts xiii. 1, which, before it was agitated, Mr. *Seaman* desired that the word 'theology' might be added; which Mr *Sedgwick* backed, but it was not taken to. Then Dr. *Burgess* opened his allegation in Acts xiii. 1, which Mr. *Wilson* answered, that that place spoke of a church, but not a university.

Dr. *Hoyle* tendered 2 Tim. ii. 2, and Mr. *Nye* Acts. xix. 9, which were both declined for awhile.

It was, therefore, resolved to confirm it by examples; as of the forty-eight universities in the cities of the Levites; the schools of the prophets; and the universities in Jerusalem. The schools of the prophets I denied to be universities, for that they were societies of men inspired; and this I proved largely. The 2 Tim. ii. 2, came also into debate, and held long; and, at last, all were put to the question, and the former "of the schools of the prophets" and, "at Jerusalem,"

were voted; but that in Tim. ii. were voted negatively, and so passed not.

To the sixth, 2 Tim. iv. 2, Titus i. 9, 1 Tim. vi. 3, these were concluded on without much debate. Then called we to adjourn; but before then fell out the motion, and mention upon Mr. *Byfield's* business about Andrew's Undershaft, which held us awhile; and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, Nov. 22.]—The first thing done this morning was, that Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* brought an order from the House of Commons, wherein they require our advice, whether Mr. *Rous*'s Psalms may not be sung in churches; and this being debated, it was at last referred to the three committees, to take every one fifty psalms.

Then fell we upon our work about the ruling-elders; but before we could settle upon it, there was some mention of yesterday's work about pastor and doctor; but it was referred, by order, to be taken up when we came to the Directory of worship.

Then fell we upon this proposition, brought us by the second committee:—"That besides those presbyters that rule well, and labour in the word and doctrine, there be other presbyters who especially apply themselves to ruling, though they labour not in the word and doctrine."

There was some time spent in stating the proposition, for the phrase, "There are other presbyters," was excepted against; and it was said that it should be, "there ought to be:" for the settling of this, Dr. *Stanton*, the chairman, gave the committee's mind: but this helped us forward never a whit; therefore, after a long debate, it was at last resolved, that it should be debated in these terms: "The Scriptures do hold out unto us thus: that, besides those presbyters," &c. in the very words expressed in the proposition by your committee.

Then Mr. *Henderson* spake concerning the business of ruling-elders, that, however it be somewhat strange in England, yet that it hath been in the reformed churches, even before Geneva, and that it hath been very prosperous to the church of Scotland.

Then the places were taken in hand for the proof of the proposition, 1 Tim. v. 17.

Some understood this place of the civil magistrate: to this Mr. *Bridges* answered; that the double honour here

spoken of is maintenance; but the civil magistrate is not to receive maintenance.

To him Mr. *Price* answered again.

Mr. *Wilson:* The church then had not a civil magistrate.

Mr. *Herle:* 1. κοπιῶντες is a participle, and carries it thus: The elders that rule well, especially labouring in word and doctrine, are worthy of double honour; and so doth 1 Thess. v. 12, explain it. 2. If this place be to be understood of a lay elder, then it enjoins him to have maintenance.

3. The place speaks not of two officers, but compares two offices.

Mr. *Seaman* answered him: that, in this place, these are two propositions. 1. The elders that rule well are worthy, &c. 2. They that do not only rule well, but labour in the word, &c. and this the two articles, οἱ προεστῶτες, and οἱ κοπιῶντες, do infer.

Mr. *Vines:* 1 Thess. v. 12, 13, speaks of the very same thing with this, and yet speaks only of the preaching elders; and so 1 Cor. ix. 9, allegeth the same place with this for the preaching elders; and so Matt. x. 10.

The emphasis of οἱ κοπιῶντες is not so great a labouring, but κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον. Μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες, chiefly because they do labour, as 2 Tim. ii. 6, and iv. 10, Philip. iv. 14, 2 Pet. i. 10, 1 Tim. 4. 16: the participle carrieth with it a causal sense.

Mr. *Burroughs:* There are three in 1 Thess. v. 12, which imply the three officers, pastor, teacher, and ruling elder.

Mr. *Philips* also backed this exposition of Mr. *Burroughs*, and also did Mr. *Seaman* in a manner.

In the midst of this debate, Mr. Solicitor brought in an order from the House of Commons, which enjoined the Assembly to write letters to the churches in France, Zealand, Holland, &c. to inform them of the famed devices and plots of the King's party, in fetching over the Irish rebels, and intentions to set up Popery, &c. whatsoever they pretend. Whereupon the matter was referred to the committee of the Assembly, that are appointed to join with the committee of the Lords and Commons, and the Scots' commissioners. And so we fell upon the work again; and very many and very long debates were upon this text in Timothy, and yet we did not conclude upon it, but adjourned, and referred the determination of it till to-morrow.

Thursday, Nov. 23.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

Our first work, being set, was about some that were nominated to sequestrations; and, among the rest, came in the name of one Mr. *Pretty,* who was suspected to be a notorious Antinomian; so that he was referred to farther examination. There was also mention of one Mr. *Fossit,* to be admitted to the presentation of St. Alphage, and it was concluded upon that he should pass. And so we fell upon the work of the day; and the committee, to whose consideration was referred the letter of the divines in London, and the petition of the young Oxford men, for a college, reported thus thereupon:

1. To the complaint of the divines for want of ordination; that it is not yet safe to meddle with it.

2. About promiscuous communication of the sacrament, they answer, that this also cannot yet be restrained.

3. About catechising, they answer: this hath been already tendered to the Parliament; and the [*]

4. To the seduction of people into sects; they answer, that something is preparing by the Assembly for prevention; and desire that they that know who gather churches, shall take notice of them, and we shall seek redress.

5. As for profaneness, the Assembly hath already petitioned against it to the Houses.

And as for the motion for a college; they answer that it is to be recommended to the Houses.

And withal, the committee presented, how needful it is that we hasten to the nature of ordination, and through the whole frame of discipline.

That the Houses be desired to settle a pious magistracy, for the restraint of profaneness.

That the matter about the college be recommended to the Houses by the Assembly.

After which report, Dr. *Gouge* moved from some divines in London, that we should petition to the two Houses, that the minister should have power to repel from the sacrament whom they should think fit.

Mr. *Nye* excepted against the expression against 'gathering of churches;' to which he was fully and home answered; and so the report of the committee was put to the question, and was voted that it should be given as an answer to the

ministers' letter of London; and the ministers that brought in the letter, be desired to come to the Assembly to receive their answer.

Then fell we upon the work of the day indeed, viz. on 1 Tim. v. 17, where we left yesterday.

Mr. *Gattaker* first spoke unto it: κοπιᾷν signifieth to work unto defatigation; and gave divers instances, and so concluded that the place speaks comparatively thus: The preaching elder is worthy double honour, especially those that take great pains in the word; for the apostle before speaks of episcopi and deacons, but of no episcopus that preacheth not.

Dr. *Hoyle* explained it thus: He that labours in ruling, but much more they that labour in the word.

Mr. *Rutherford,* one of the Scottish commissioners, spoke to this place, that there are fourteen or fifteen expositions upon this place, which may be reduced to four; the most followed is, that one person and two works is meant; but this he refused; for, 1. Πρεσβύτεροι is the [*] predicated de rebus. 2. Two participles. 3. Two articles. 4. μάλιστα doth always distinguish. 5. There is distinctive note, καλῶς and in λόγῳ, 1 Tim. iv. μάλιστα πιστῶν; so Tit. i. μάλιστα ἐκ περιτομῆς; so Gal. vi. 10.

Mr. *Vines:* The Greek fathers do not conceive that this place speaks distinctively of two offices: and out of the text he spoke very largely to prove the same.

Mr. *Rutherford* answered him again; and Mr. *Gillespie* also took at him; and Mr. *Vines* rejoined to him again.

Mr. *Rutherford* replied on him again: Chrysostom does not, indeed, here hold a ruler elder, yet doth he hold a distinct office, viz. a deacon that doth not preach.

Mr. *Gattaker* held this plea to be very obscure, to prove an institution. Mr. *Marshal* answered, that other places clear it.

Mr. *Herle:* The word προεστῶτες doth not always strictly signify ruling, but, presiding by example, as well as otherwise. Μάλιστα is not a distributive always, nor discretive, as 1 Cor. xiv. 1. 29; it is a restrictive here, but not to another office, but to another act.

Mr. *Seaman:* Institutions in the New Testament run upon supposition, rather than by position, Acts xi. 30, and

xiv. 23, supposing such were instituted; but when, or how, we read not.

Estius, upon this place, confesseth lay elders; and the most interpreters of old hold here a distinction of officers.

Dr. *Temple:* Κοπιᾷν must here be taken for extraordinary labour, by the opposition in the other part res; he saith not the elders that rule, but that rule well.

The double honour here hath relation to a single honour. Now that single must refer to those that rule only; but this cannot be found to be any where in Scripture.

Dr. *Smith:* Estius' interpretation hath not reference to the ruling-elder, but to bishops and cardinals. Προϊστῶς signifieth, not to rule strictly and exactly, Rom. xvi. 2, Tit. 3, and Clemens Alex. speaks of the προστασία τῶν Ἀγγέλων, i. e. the care of angels. So he cited Sophocles and Demosthenes, using the word in the same sense for care.

Mr. *Goodwin* answered him from 1 Tim. iii. 4, that προϊστασθαι signifieth ruling.

The apostles' very mentioning of officers, is as much as setting down an institution of it.

1 Cor. xi. "We have no such custom," id est, We apostles have no such custom, nor the churches founded by them.

Thus did we wear out the day till two o'clock, and yet had not concluded upon this place of Timothy, but referred it till to-morrow; and so adjourned.

Friday, Nov. 24.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Mal. i. 4.

Being set, there was first some mention of providing ministers for the army; of an assistant for the scribes, and of recommending the business about Oxford scholars' petition for a college, to the Houses.

Then fell we upon the business of the day.

And Mr. *Carter,* senior, first began: Things are either by divine approbation, or permission, or injunction; permission, when God doth not oppose his power, nor his word. Injunctions should be plain, either by plain text, or necessary implication. Injunctions are formal, in express words; or virtual, included in general terms.

As for 1 Tim. v. 17, he held, it holds out only one proposition, and does not so much as hint that there then were any ruling elders, much less for succession.

Mr. *Woodcock:* He held two propositions in the words, and that they do hold out a ruling elder which doth not labour in the word.

The genus is οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, the express species is οἱ κοπιῶντες.

Dr. *Hoyle:* There are two propositions. 1. There are elders that rule well. 2. Those that do so, are worthy double honour; so that there is institution. He also proved, out of Budæus and others, that προστασία is ruling, and out of other authors.

Mr. *Marshal* answered to this objection; that this doth hold out a may, but not a must, for a ruling elder.

Answer. The apostle here proposeth the honour due to him, which importeth his institution elsewhere.

Obj. The apostle, in all the epistle, doth not character out a ruling elder.

Answer. That description which he makes of a bishop and elder, in this Epistle, and to Titus, doth competere to the ruling elder; for he must be able to exhort and convince such faults as concern outward manners; for so the apostle would have the ancient women to be able to teach the younger.

Mr. *Bridges:* 1 Cor. xi. 23. What Paul delivered to this church, he received from the Lord; now if the Mr. [*] taught in all churches that there was such an office, they had it by Christ's institution.

He thought that Paul, in Titus i. 9, doth more properly speak of the ruling elder; so in Eph. iv. 11, 12, καταρτισμὸς, ἔργον διακονίας, οἰκοδομὴ belongs to those that are not in the office there mentioned [*] as well as to the officers; and this he went about to prove by other places.

Mr. *Seaman:* No lawful and warrantable sense is to be excluded; but this of a ruling elder here is so; *ergo.* 2. That exposition is to be embraced, which agrees with the words, and with the sense of the most reformed churches; but this doth so; *ergo.*

3. This interpretation giveth weight to every word in the verse, and others do not.

Mr. *Arrowsmith:* Here may be understood two sorts of preaching elders, viz. doctor and pastor.

1. Καλῶς. Titus iii. 14. Those ministers do καλῶς προϊ-

σταθαι, that do apply themselves to their ministerial work single.

In the midst of these debates, there came the ministers of London to receive an answer to the letter that they had sent, and they were called in; and the prolocutor, in the name of the Assembly, gave them thanks; and Dr. *Burgess* gave the answer that the committee had brought in yesterday. They were four of them.

After which, Dr. *Burgess* also brought in a message and petition for the Assembly, to be sent by them into the House of Lords, for their settling of a pious magistracy in all parts of the kingdom, and for the contriving of a college for the young Oxford students; and for an amanuensis to help the scribes: and one Mr. *Wallis* was named. And so the thing was ordered to be sent in. After this we fell to our work again, and Mr. *Vines* gave answers in general to all that had been said by them, that would find a ruling-elder in this text. Dr. *Burgess*, for the determining of the business, motioned that this business might be referred to a committee, as the business about pastor and teacher was, to see wherein we agree: but this was not agreed unto; for as Mr. *Calamy* said, It is not yet ripe, for that though this place do not sway the judgment of some to hold a ruling-elder, yet other scriptures may help to do it; and when these are handled, if there then be difference, it will then be seasonable to seek a temper.

So we adjourned, resolving to fall upon the other texts on Monday morning.

Monday, Nov. 27.]—The first done this morning was the admission of Mr. *Cawdry* to the Assembly instead of Dr. *Harris*, and his taking the protestation.

Then fell we upon Rom. xii. 8, ὁ προϊστάμενος. Mr. *Herrick*, out of Bishop Andrewes, shewed that divers of the fathers having written upon this place, not one of them applies it to church-government. Before any more was said, Mr. *Seaman* fell upon 1 Tim. v. 17, to clear it more than before; and so did Mr. *Hall* clear the language out of Demosthenes and Aristophanes, and the New Testament; but a difference of judgment—for Mr. *Seaman* would prove a ruling elder from it, but Mr. *Hall* was against it, and he made a speech at least of an hour long; and Mr. *Seaman* answered him very largely.

After this long digression, we fell upon Rom. xii. 8, and first Dr. *Temple* spake to it, and denied that that place is meant of officers, but of gifts, for, 1. They are called χαρίσματα; 2. Some things mentioned there are merely gifts.

Mr. *Coleman:* This place doth not hold forth any distinct or determinate officer; or if it do, it doth not hold out the προϊστάμενος here that is spoken of 1 Tim. v. 17.

Thus was this day spent, and nothing concluded upon; and so we adjourned till Thursday, because of the fast.

Thursday, Nov. 30.]—Our work this morning was to debate that place in Rom. xii. 8, ὁ προϊστάμενος ἐν σπουδῇ.

Mr. *Gattaker* first began, and made a motion for temper and accommodation; yet spoke he very largely upon the place.

After him, Mr. *Henderson,* and shewed, 1. The necessity of these rulers to see to the manners of the people; 2. He answered in divers things to Mr. *Gattaker*; 3. He spake to the place in hand, viz. that the scope of the apostle is to shew the offices of the church, &c.

Mr. *Bayly,* our Englishman, professed seriously that till the last year he had lived convinced by Bishop Bilson of the "jus divinum" of bishops; till conferring with a gentlewoman, who said, It is wonder that you cannot see ground for presbyterial government, which all the reformed churches have; which struck him so, that he fell to study the reformed writers, Calvin, Beza, &c., and by them was convinced. And he fell upon the places in hand, and that with some vehemency and earnestness, and would prove a ruling elder; and Mr. *Rutherford* took at him, and spake very largely. Then did I propose my scruples and surmises, viz. That the apostle in 1 Tim. v. 17, meaneth two officers, but that those are pastor and deacon, which he had spoken of only as sufficient for the church, 1 Tim. iii. 2; that προϊστῶτες, both in the LXX translators and in the Syriac, are 'præsidentes,' and 'præcedentes,' though not in government; 3. That ἀντιλήψεις and κυβερνήσεις will not enforce deaconry and ruling-elders, shall be proved there. Mr. *Gillespie* spake next to me, and gave answer to divers objections that had been made, and to mine among others.

At twelve o'clock I went away, being invited to dinner inLondon ; and so I left the Assembly in this business.

And at last, as I was informed, they called to vote upon this question; but Mr. *Vines* putting them in mind, that I had hinted that I had something to say to 1 Cor. xii. 28, it was therefore deferred till that I should be present; and so they adjourned.

Friday, Dec. 1.]—This morning we fell upon this place in 1 Cor. xii. 28, and Mr. *Palmer* first began, and questioned whether the apostle speaks here of officers or gifts. Mr. *Nye* went about to answer him; and so did Mr. *Newcomen*, averring, "that κυβέρνησις signifieth only the act of government." Then I stood up to answer him; but there came in an order from the House of Commons, enjoining the Assembly to send some members into the city to administer the covenant in those churches where the ministers will not administer it; which being done withal, I answered, "that the Septuagint used the word κυβέρνησις in Prov. i. 5, and xi. 14, and xii. 5, and xx. 18, and xxiv. 26, to translate תחבלות, which importeth not the act, but the ability and gifts fit to govern; and that ἀντιλήψεις and κυβερνήσεις, in the place in hand, do mean nothing but helps to interpret the language and sense of those that spake with tongues; as may be collected by balancing the two verses in the place in hand together, viz. 28, 29.

Mr. *Young* spake after me; and out of the language, out of Origen, Ambrose, and others, went about to prove a ruler-elder in this place; and spoke very largely to gainsay taking the office up upon a prudential ground.

After him Dr. *Temple* stood up to answer him; which when he had done, he came to confirm that the apostle doth not here intend officers but gifts, and this he did by very many arguments; and gave out these doubts upon this point: 1. That he cannot find yet any clear place to ground institution upon. 2. That he finds not any thing of matter of fact of ruling-elders in Scripture. 3. If the keys were given first to the apostles, where can be shewn any delegation from them to the ruling-elders? 4. That he cannot find how to clear the ruling-elder's employment by Scripture. 5. How to be brought into their office, whether by imposition of hands. 6. In what sphere he is to act; whether in particular congregations or in general assemblies. 7. Whether they are to have maintenance or no: and concluded with this request, That before this matter come to vote, that these

things may be taken into consideration, and for that purpose that it might be recommitted.

Mr. *Herle* set about to answer all that had been said, and spake exceeding long.

Mr. *Vines:* 1. The apostle speaks of several things or persons, or be they what they will. 2. Ἔθετο, as ver. 18, [*] set them in the same severally. 3. That the things, or whatsoever they be, are for the benefit of the church. 4. It relates to persons, for he had spoken of Χαρίσματα before. 5. It speaks of several gifts in several persons. 6. That κυβερνήσεις differs from διδάσκαλοι. 7. κυβερνήσεις signifieth without doubt a prefecture: yet grant all this, it is very questionable, whether this place do prove a ruling-elder: for that he conceived that the government was in the hands of the preaching-elder: and then he fell to backing of mine interpretation very fully.

Mr. *Gillespie* answered him. 1. That the practice of reformed churches arose from a pure light:—then answered he me; why the apostle leaveth out ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις in the addition, as if he meant there are some that have not such extraordinary gifts, &c. and then did he produce Salmeron interpreting it as the reformed churches do.

Mr. *Bridges* would prove institution from ἔθετο, John xv. 16, 1 Cor. xiv. 37.

Mr. *Seaman* urged the business to the question; but Dr. *Temple* interposed, and spake very largely: and so did others both "pro et contra;" but the conclusion was that a committee was chosen to take the matter in hand, and prepare it for an accommodation; and so we adjourned till Monday.

Monday, Dec. 4.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Psal. liv. 4.

Being set, our first business was, that our rules were read according to an order.

Then was there speedy motion for adjourning, because of falling into the committee that was chosen for the matter that hath held us so long about the ruling-elder: which was done accordingly. And so the committee presently fell to work in the Assembly-room, and the most of the Assembly were present with it. And the first thing they did was to debate the question, Whether the ruling-elder should have maintenance or no.

Tuesday, Dec. 5.]—Our first work was, that the chairman of the second committee reported concerning some more characters of apostles in these three propositions: 1. They had power to order officers in all churches, and to appoint evangelists to ordain them, Tit. i. 5. 2. They had power to order all the service and worship of God, so as might make most for edification, 1 Cor. xi. per totum: especially 23. 28. 34, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, viii. 12, 2 Cor. xi. 28, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. 37—40, xvi. 1, 2. 3. They had power to determine cases of consciences, and controversies in all churches, by word of mouth or writing, Acts xv.

These being read, we fell upon the point about deacons, upon this position brought in by the second committee: "Deacons are a distinct office in the church," Acts vi. 3, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Ἀντιλήψεις, 1 Tim. iii. 8, Phil. i. 1. There was some debate upon the proposition, whether it is brought in as "de facto," that there were such officers in the apostle's time; or "de jure," for their continuance: and so at last the "de facto" was voted: 1 Tim. iii. 8, Phil. i. 1, passed for proof of it.

Then fell we upon the sixth of Acts, to look them there; their names are not there, but Διακονεῖν τραπέζαις is used, which, said Dr. *Smith*, do import the names; but it was waved and declined to meddle with the office of deacons, and consequently with Acts vi. 3, 1 Cor. xii; and so we called to adjourn because of the committee for the ruling-elders, and so we did, and fell instantly into the committee.

Mr. *Palmer* began in it with this argument, That no other elders are intended in 1 Tim. v. 17, but what we mentioned in 1 Tim. iii. Tit. i. 9; but those mentioned then are only preaching-elders, *ergo*.

To this Mr. *Seaman* answered, That these are included under the general phrase, as Deut. xxxi. 9, &c.; for that it is ascribed to the Levites to do, which was only lawful for the priests to do.

To this I answered, That the Scripture in other places had sufficiently shewed what the Levites might do, and what not, and therefore afterward it might speak short; but the New Testament hath no where distinguished the ruling-elder's office, and therefore the Scripture in these places cannot include the one under the other.

Dr. *Burgess:* No other place of Scripture proveth a ruling elder: *ergo*, not in 1 Tim. v. 17, for the Episcopus, 1 Tim.

iii. must be διδακτικός; also he, Tit. i. 9, must be able διδάσκειν and ἐλέγχειν. Long debates were upon this, at which I left them, having some occasion in London.

Wednesday, Dec. 6.]—We had this morning a sermon by a probationer, a suspected Antinomian.

The first thing we did, being set, was that Mr. *Byfield* related of four prentices in his parish that took the covenant the last night; and when they had done, went to an alehouse, and there drank healths to Prince Robert [Rupert?] and to that crew; and said they had taken the covenant, but they intended to be on the other side, and that ere long they should see a day in which they should be made officers and commanders: which passages Mr. *Byfield* hearing of, caused them to be apprehended and secured, and also desired now that he might have liberty to go and bring them to examination.

After which we had some agitation about him that preached, and about his Antinomianism: and among others that spake, I desired that he should be urged to give his tenets in those points under his own hand, which was followed by Mr. *Bridges;* but this was thought too much and above our sphere: howbeit Mr. *Salloway* the parliament-man approved of it; but there were four chosen to go to have a peculiar examination of him, and give in their judgment of him.

Then fell we upon the report of the second committee brought in yesterday, upon which was a great deal of questioning against the handling of the things treated of in it, at this time:—which while we were about, the four that went out about the suspected Antinomian, came in and quitted him; and then came it to the question, whether we should resume the business about the ruling-elder, and it was voted affirmatively; yet was it opposed against, and therefore it was put to the question again, and voted affirmatively again; and so we began upon it.

Old Mr. *Wilkinson* began: If the place alleged hold out so clear a ground for a ruling-elder, how comes it to pass it was never seen before Calvin: and for this he alleged Dr. *Sutcliffe,* and related that Mr. Calvin having been expelled Geneva and recalled, he desired four Helvetian churches to assist him; which they did, yet they themselves retained not the government.

Dr. *Burgess* proposed, that in this point we should first

see how far we agree; and he proposed therefore: 1. That Christ hath appointed a government and governors. 2. He hath furnished some in the church with gifts fit for government, and with commission to exercise the same. 3. There are some that are to be governors in the church besides pastors. 4. That these are to be joined to the pastor in governing.

Mr. *Vines* proposed that it might be said in the general, that there is a government in the church, but that we should spare to mention species.

Mr. *Marshal:* If a ruling elder may be set providentially, then something may be set in the church which Christ hath not ordained. Mr. *Vines* answered: That the Saviour hath given a general, that there should be a government, but for particulars hath referred to the church.

Mr. *Herle:* Christ is the head of the church: and he was faithful in the house like Moses; now Moses did appoint every particular in the house. Mr. *Vines* answered again, denying both the propositions.

Mr. *Palmer:* 1. If Christ hath appointed governors, they are either sufficient, and then none to be added to them; or insufficient, and then Christ hath left his church in an insufficient condition. 2. If there be governors, then they are to be obeyed, as watching over the soul.

After many debates about this "pro et contra," there was a motion that it should be put to the question, "Whether any officer is to be set up in the church by human institution?" but it was not embraced; but the conclusion was, that we adjourned, and fell into the committee chosen to agitate the business of the ruling-elder.

Thursday, Dec. 7.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

The first thing done, when we were sat, was, that the suspected for Antinomianism, that preached yesterday, sent in a paper of his detestation of his Antinomianism; which was read, and his was approved of.

Then fell we upon the business of ruling elders: and Mr. *Taylor* began, and approved of the setting up of a presbytery; but, because of the differences, he moved for an accommodation.

I. In regard of the protestation, which ties us to seek the peace of the church. 2. In regard of the covenant, which

tying us as near to conformity with other churches as may be, it cannot be by the dissensions, but by accommodations. 3. What discontent this resolution of us divines may breed in the kingdom; and he tendered a general form thus, "Ruling-elders are very useful, &c. which are thought by divers learned men to be spoken of in these places," Rom. xii. and 1 Cor. xii. &c. Dr. *Gouge* tendered this, which Mr. *Vines* had done yesterday, "There are governors in the church, beside preaching-elders, that are warranted by the word of God, and agreeable to the same."

Mr. *Nye:* 1. There is a regimen in the church. 2. The places alleged take in whatsoever concerns government. 3. If, in other places, there be a probability that the rule is put into other hands than the preachers,' it will confirm these texts to mean this more than probably, and these examples he gave:—

1. It may be the condition of some congregations to want such a ruler in way of prudence; *ergo*, it is not like Christ would omit it, and we cannot find any prudence with Christ lost.

2. When we cannot find any badge of the species, we cannot conclude the genus.

3. Consider the weight of the work of ruling and preaching both, impossible for one to bear.

4. The harvest is great; *ergo*, the labourers should be the more.

5. There is not any prejudice to either, if both pastor and lay-elder govern.

Mr. *Herle* answered him, That probability will not make a necessary argument, and, consequently, not an institution; but withal he pleaded against a prudential way and against any temper.

Mr. *Valentine* also opposed a temper, and alleged, Exod. xviii. that Moses was not to seek a rule, unless the Lord command.

Mr. *Whittacre* went about to prove that 1 Tim. v. 17. holds out two officers.

To some of these things I answered: 1. That Jethro's words, "If the Lord command thee," was, because he would not elate his own counsel, having nothing to do with the constitution of Israel's church. 2. That the going in a prudential way doth not derogate to the wisdom of the institutor, for the אנשי סעמד in the times of the law, was of that

nature, &c. And Mr. *Coleman* took at me, and instanced in the משנה כהן, or the second priest, the Ἀρχισυνάγωγος, yea, and synagogues themselves were of prudential way; and withal he shewed how prejudicial it would be to churches, past, present, and to come, to establish this elder by a divine institution.

Mr. *Hill:* That is 'jus divinum quod verbo divino promulgatur:' and so are these elders; and, therefore, he tendered that we should say "they be agreeable to the word, and warranted by it;" and so to pass it till God afford more light. I motioned, that we might fall upon the work of this ruling-elder, and first know what this ruling is: for that though we grant a ruling-elder, yet that when we come to be urged that ecclesiastical censures are in their power, we shall deny it.

Dr. *Temple* repeated this argument out of 1 Tim. iii. and Titus ii. 9. which had been used in the committee, and, as he said, could not be answered by the committee.

This character doth only competere to the preaching elder, *ergo*, not to the ruling-elder; for he must be διδακτικὸς, οἰκόνομος, δυνατὸς παρακαλεῖν, ἐπιστομίζειν.

Mr. *Bridges* answered: That there is nothing there spoken but is agreeable to the office of the ruling-elder in his place.

Mr. *Calamy* gave other answers: That the ruling elder is under the diaconus, in 1 Tim. iii. 2. That the ruling elder doth teach "more suo," as 2 Chron. xvii. 7—9: there is teaching "more fraterno," "more pastorali," and "more juridico in foro externo:" and the ruling-elder may judge of the formality of a heresy, which is "pertinacia," though not of the materiality.

Mr. *Gillespie* denied the proposition, and said, If there were no other place in all the Scripture for any elder than a preaching-elder, yet this place in Timothy would convince; yet is it found in "Dic Ecclesiæ," Rom. xii. 1 Cor. xii.

Mr. *Gattaker* answered him: That there were so many divers expositions upon this argues, that this place is not so very plain:—and he backed my opinion which I gave some days before, that here are meant pastors and deacons, and no other; which he prosecuted to the full.

Dr. *Burgess:* In no place of Scripture, a presbyter is taken for a ruling-presbyter, distinct from a preaching one; and therefore in 1 Tim. v. 17, is not meant such a one.

Mr. *Herle* answered to Mr. *Gillespie*. If the ruling-elder be under the name of a deacon, then must he have the office of a deacon. 2. The presbyter here spoken of to be Διδακτικὸς in the house of God, and he must be proved, and then use the office; *ergo*, he must preach much more, than more few.

Mr. *Palmer:* When Scripture is obscure, the Spirit of God seemeth to teach, that the deductions that may be fetched thence, are very sparingly to be imposed upon men's consciences.

If there be in 1 Tim. v. two sorts of elders, there are two sorts of bishops; but not, *ergo*. The major he proved, 1 Tit. iv. Acts xx. The minor; if comprehended under deacons, as Rom. xii. then not under bishops. 2. The apostle describing the character of a bishop, 1 Tim. iii. Tit. i. saith he must be proved. Now what must be the proof of a ruling elder? and therefore he renewed that motion, which I had made in the beginning of the day, that we might fall upon his work. Mr. *Vines* also backed the same motion, and moved that when we look into the elders of the Jews, we might look after their institution; for though they were warrantable, yet that inferreth not institution.

Mr. *Goodwin* urged for an accommodation, viz. either to defer the vote till we have considered the work, or else to put it down in such words as may comply with every man's sense. The former of these motions Mr. *Palmer* backed, and moved that it might be ordered, that then we have done the work of the ruling-elder, this proposition tendered might be taken into consideration.

The business of temper and accommodation cost some large debate and was spoken for; but only Mr. *Marshal* would not have the business, that hath cost us so long debate, should be laid down without a vote.

Mr. *Henderson* motioned, at last, that it might be recommended to a committee, to draw up how far we agree, and then to draw up the ruling-elder's office; and it was agreed upon, and so we adjourned; and the committee sat for this purpose in the afternoon.

Friday, Dec. 8.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of 1 Sam. ii. 24, 25.

Being sat, Mr. *Marshal*, the chairman of the committee appointed yesterday, to draw up our agreement, reported, 1. Christ hath instituted a government, and governors ecclesiastical in the church. 2. Christ hath furnished some in

his church with gifts for government, and with commission to exercise the same, when called thereunto. 3. It is agreeable and warranted by the word of God, that some others beside the ministers of the word or church-governors should join with the ministers in the government of the church. Rom. xii. 7, 8, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Some liked the propositions, but not the applying of the places of Scripture, and of that mind was I myself; for the proposition I understood of magistracy, and the text of the Corinthians I held very and most improper.

Dr. *Smith* also excepted against the text, and proved out of Chrysostom and Budæus that προστασία is not rule but care.

Dr. *Temple* opposed also very urgently the affixing of these scriptures; for that they granted the whole question of an institution. Dr. *Burgess* answered that an institution is a command, but a warrant is not;—and he instanced in marriage, which is warranted but not commanded.

Mr. *Ley* tendered, That 1 Cor. xii. should be omitted, and that some other place should be chosen, and nomination the conformity to the Jewish church.

Mr. *Goodwin* moved, That the propositions might first be voted, and then the texts:—which was called upon, but interposed by some; as by Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Ley*, and Dr. *Stanton*, who thought the expression in the last propositions to be too large, and that accommodation is but a toleration, and a political act, fit for the Parliament, not for us; and that it will leave all posterity in the dark, and that it will not conduce to peace but distraction: and therefore moved for this expression, "that beside the pastor and teacher which are to labour in word and doctrine, Christ hath others to rule and govern."

Mr. *Goodwin* answered him; That in five hundred first years there was no magistrate, and yet held they correspondency, and [*] agreeing in what they have attained to. At last the first proposition was put to the question, and voted affirmatively "nemine contradicente;" so also was the second.

The third was also voted likewise; but in this I suspended my affirmative.

Then were the texts put to the question, and were voted affirmatively, by all but Dr. *Temple* and myself. Then Dr. *Hoyle* fell to speak of the lay-elders among the Jews in their Sanhedrim: to which I answered they were their highest civil magistrates; and that the Houses of Parliament judge in ecclesiastical matters, and yet were never yet held lay-elders.

Mr. *Whittacre* urged for 1 Tim. v. 17. to be added as a farther proof; and so did Mr. *Gillespie*, who answered some objections which had been made yesterday.

Dr. *Burgess* desired that we might say no more upon this text, till we have considered this elder's work:—this was backed by Mr. *Bridges* and others.

Then Mr. *Calamy* spake, and produced a letter from a divine, viz. Mr. *Elborose* in Hamburg, wherein he desireth to be resolved in a point of conscience, which was this: Many factors there, and heretofore some inconvenience hath followed clancular marriage, whereupon an order hath been Made by the four elders, that whosoever should marry without banns'-asking, should be secluded from the sacrament; one young man hath married thus, and pleadeth innocent, because his mother knew of it, and his father is dead. *Ergo* quæritur, 1. What penalty the church of England imposeth upon such marriage? 2. Whether the party is to be secluded from the sacrament till he acknowledge his fault?

Mr. *Recorder* advised not to be too hasty in the determination of the second, as being our work which we are not yet come to.

This cost some debate, but it was at last cast by, and called to adjourn; and so we did.

Monday, Dec. 11.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Matt. v. 13.

Being set, our business was upon the elders in the Jewish church.

Mr. *Coleman:* Elders were not chosen purposely for ecclesiastical business. There were four sorts of officers in Israel: 1. זקנים 2. ראשי אבות 3. שפטים 4. שטרים. The זקנים, were the gravest and wisest men in country, city, or calling; and they were not assistant to the priest, for there is mention of זקני כהנים Jer. xix. 1, 2 Kings xix.

2. Their elections by the people, Num. i. 16. 3. They were the representative body of the whole congregation for all business ecclesiastical or civil. Lev. xiv. 15, Ezra x. 14.

2. They were messengers of state, Judges xi. 1.

3. They were messengers of any public contract.

4. They were to be present at the public courts of judicature.

The LXX senators in the Sanhedrim were civil officers, Deut. i. assisters to Moses, not to the priests: "Regibus assidere soliti:" Philo Jud.

Mr. *Calamy:* That there were elders of the people he proved thus. 1. In the Sanhedrim there were elders that were not priests nor Levites. The supreme civil judicatory, Num. xi. The supreme ecclesiastical, Num. x. Of both these Moses speaks Deut. xvii. 12, 2 Chron. xix. 8—11, Jer. xxvi. 8. 16.

That there were elders of the people joined to the priests and Levites, 2 Chron. xix. 8, Acts iv. 5, Matt. xxvi, &c.

They had two sorts of consistories in every city, one in the gates, and the other in the synagogues.

Their synagogues were appointed for correction of manners, as well as for prayers, &c.; and they had ecclesiastical censure in them, John ix. 22. and vi. 2. Ezek. xliv. 7, 9. The word *cut off* means the separation from the congregation, Exod. xii. 15. 19.

That they had their rulers of the people in the synagogue, 1. Because the inferior judicatory was conformed to the greater. 2. They had their Ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, Acts xiii. 15. xviii. 8. Luke iv. 20.

Dr. *Burgess* answered Mr. *Coleman*, and Mr. *Gillespie* took at him: 1. Exod. xxiv. 14. the seventy elders there are joined with Moses and Aaron; 2 Chron. ix. 8. the elders are joined with the priests, and Gen. xxvii. 17. Ezek. xxvi. 2. Psal. cvii. 32. and cxv. 9—11. They are joined with prophets, 2 King vi. 32. Ezek. 8. in beg.

Josh. xxiii. 2. 2 Kings x. beg. Acts iv. 5. the elders are distinct from the rulers.

Here I spake, That the two sanhedrims and two consistories in every city are not owned by the Jewish authors:— and for that I alleged Maimonides at large, and proved three courts in Jerusalem, and yet no difference of one ecclesiastical and the other civil; and that there was but one court or consistory in every city. I granted, indeed, that there were elders in the sanhedrim that were not priests or Levites, but withal they were civil magistrates, as our Parliament. This Mr. *Rutherford* answered, That the Parliament, if they had intended to judge ecclesiastical things in an ecclesiastical way, they would not have convened this Assembly. To this I replied divers things, and there were passages *pro* and *contra:* at last I moved, that we might come to draw up in what we agreed. And Dr. *Burgess* tendered a proposition, which cost some exceptions and debate, viz. "That the institution and practice of the Jewish church as

a church, and not as I wish, to have some elders of the people joined with the people to judge in ecclesiastical matters." To it I excepted, that it was too large, for that I could produce divers ecclesiastical matters in which they did not judge; and it would be hard to find that they judged in any thing, but only about false doctrine.

Then Mr. *Goodwin* also proposed this scruple, "That if the lay-elders must judge in matters ecclesiastical, then must they also judge of the texts of scripture, which would be a dangerous example for our ruling-elders." This cost some debate. At last it was called, that the matter might be put to the question; and I stood up and desired, that my vote might not be lost because of my scruple; and therefore I desired, that the proposition might pass agreeable to the last we made, viz. "That in the church of the Jews there were elders of the people joined to the priests and Levites in the government of the church;" which was very well liked of, and so was put to be the question, and voted *nemine contradicente.*

Then were some other motions made upon the by, as that we should attend to-morrow upon Mr. *Pym's* interment; that we should hasten our work against the Antinomians; that Mr. *Case* should preach at Bow, and tender the covenant the next sabbath; and so we adjourned.

In the afternoon our committee sat, and distributed that part of Mr. *Rows'* Psalms which was assigned to us, to six of us, viz. Mr. *Walker,* Mr. *Burroughs,* Mr. *Caryll,* Mr. *Hall,* Mr. *Whittacre,* and myself.

Tuesday, Dec. 12.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer out of Phil. i. 10.

Our business this morning was, that first Dr. *Burgess* made a complaint of the neglect of the first committee's members, some of them; and this business spent some time.

Then fell we upon the matter about the Jewish elders, and the Scriptures to prove it, which were 2 Chron. xix. 8. which cost some debate, and that very large. "Sometimes," saith Mr. *Wilson,* "when matters were mixed, the courts were mixed, as about the spoil of Midian and the altar at Jordan: but also they were distinct, for the sanhedrim was slain by Herod; yet was there an ecclesiastical court, Jer. xxvi. 8. 16." Divers and divers passages were upon this place and point, "pro et conta;" at last I proved that in divers and divers things the priests had propriety,

and the civil magistrates had nothing to do; as leprosy, jealousy, clean and unclean, and that in those things that the lay-judges had to judge, as blasphemy, idolatry, false doctrine, &c., the censure was civil, being capital. To me Mr. *Selden* answered; but Mr. *Wilson* answered him in my stead; and so did Mr. *Goodwin*. At last the text that had cost us all the day, came to the question with much ado; and then the proposition which the text was brought to prove, was excepted against, upon the suggestion of Mr. *Selden*, which cost some debate; but at last the matter came to the question, and was voted affirmatively, though *nullis contradicentibus;* and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, Dec. 13.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Phil. i. 18. which when he had done, divers just exceptions were taken against him, for which our Assembly having been deluded by him, and given approbation of him, resolved to labour his removal again.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, viz. upon Deut. xvii. 8, 9; a place produced to prove the proposition fixed upon two days ago, upon my motion: viz. "That there were elders of the people, joined with the priests and Levites in the government of the church;" as also Num. ii. and Matt. xxvii. 1.

Mr. *Bridges* spake, first, upon Deut. xvii.: viz. that here is mention only of one court; and, that Jer. xxvi. 8. 10, imports but one court, if one at all. 2. In this one court in Deut. xvii. there is a mixture in regard of persons, and of causes; now "potentia et facultas distinguitur per actum, et actus per objectum:" and the judgment that came from them, was a state judgment, because it came to them from the gates or civil courts: 2. blood and blood, plea and plea, 3. stroke and stroke belongs only to the state. Judgment in the gate is a political matter. 4. It was not brought to the sanhedrin, because not proper for the inferior courts, but because too difficult; *ergo*, he concluded this scripture doth not speak home to the proposition.

Mr. *Coleman:* 1. The business, in this place, is an appeal. 2. The matter is plainly civil. 3. It was from a civil court. 2. The judges, the priests and the judge. Now if there were two courts, that either the appellant must appeal to both, or to which he will, or else the best—there were no assistants in the priest's court.

Mr. *Gibbon:* 1. All the courts in Israel were of three, of twenty-one, and of twenty-three, and seventy-one; now

these were not co-ordinate, but subordinate. Now the officers in these courts were mixt, as Luke xxii. 66, εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἑαυτῶν. Num. xi. the sanhedrims were chosen out of every tribe. All kind of controversies were brought to these; as idolatry, jealousy, false prophets.

Mr. *Calamy* pleaded for two sanhedrims, the ecclesiastical did judge 'de jure,' the civil 'de facto;' and he urged, Jer. xxvi. 8, for proof of this. If the appeal were ecclesiastical, the great sanhedrim meddled with it, even in all ecclesiastical things.

Mr. *Young* would prove two courts; for, 1. here are two distinct persons;—and he followed it at large; which Mr. *Goodwin* answered, that if there were two sanhedrims in Jerusalem, there must also be the like in their gates. He held with me, that the "priests alone did meddle with matters of the temple."

I answered to them that held that the civil elders in the sanhedrim judged in all things, that this was impossible in the point of leprosy, for that it was "infectious to all Israel, but only the priests;" and as for this place, Deut. xvii. I held that it spake not of appeals, but of advisings; and not of judicature, but of direction: for that the judges of the inferior cities were to go thither to inform themselves, if they stuck in any thing.

Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* advised to lay this subject by, for that it would prove but a weak ground to build our eldership upon the Jewish.

Mr. *Vines:* The priest's judgment was to be taken in those matters of 'mundum et immundum, sacrum et profanum;' but when the point came to a controversy betwixt man and man, then it might be brought to the sanhedrim; and that the priests were rather added to the elders than 'e contra.' This debate detained us till almost one o'clock, and then was called to the vote, but it was declined for the present; and so we adjourned.

Thursday, Dec. 14.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

Being set, there was some talk about one *Samuel Okes*, that came for a sequestration: and Dr. *Burgess* produced a letter, concerning one of that name about Norwich, that is a notorious Anabaptist; but Mr. *Micklethwaite* and Mr. *Coleman* cleared this man, that he is not he, but another man.

Then fell we upon our work, about Deut. xvii. 8. Mr *Bathurst*, Deut. xxxi. 8, 9, proved the elders in Israel to be ecclesiastical governors, and Deut. xxvii. 1.

Dr. *Hoyle* would prove out of the words in Deut. xvii. two courts; 1. Because the priest and judge are named apart. 2. The priest first.

Mr. *Nye:* If there be no penalty, purely and simply ecclesiastical, then there is no such court, no excommunication in the church of the Jews: 'Αποσυναγώγους ποιεῖν was 'to throw them out by force;' and for sins that deserve excommunication, there was other provision, as 'cutting off' for obstinacy.

Mr. *Calamy* produced divers authors, that prove hence the civil elder to have joined with the priests in judgment, as Reynolds, Ligonius.

That the matters were ecclesiastical, he proved from Junius, upon these words, "Plague and plague;" and from Deut. xxi. 5.

Inconveniences following upon denying excommunication. 1. Then the church did not consist of sects, but of all indifferently. 2. Then might all mixedly partake of the holy things of God.

Mr. *Selden:* The vulgar Latin, till within this forty years, read this place, "qui non obediverit sacerdoti, ex decreto judicis morietur."

This place includes all causes; and if, in any of the inferior courts, the iudges were at a stand, and those judges went to Jerusalem, and were resolved of their scruple, and went down again, and would not judge according to their resolution, he was to die; and this is that which the Jewish authors call the 'rebellious elder.'

Mr. *Gibbon* proved they handled ecclesiastical matters. 1. They had all matters. 2. All laws. 3. They handled the matter of jealousy; and for this he produced testimony at large.

Mr. *Gillespie:* In Deut. ix. 12, would find two several courts; but he moved, that we might go to other places. I spake something to this purpose, viz. that I had hinted yesterday the sense which Mr. *Selden* gave to-day, and that it was not in appeals, but in point of consultation that the judge was to go up. Therefore I was answered thus by Mr. *Herle:* I should be sorry if we should lose appeals in this place; for which I besought the Assembly, that we might well

examine the texts before we fixed a sense upon it; and that it might be taken into consideration whether this place spake of appeals or no; and that it little affordeth two sanhedrims, for that the party was to consult with judge or priest, as the cause required, and they two sitting together in the court.

Dr. *Burgess:* The place, the person, and the matter was ecclesiastical; *ergo*, the judgment was ecclesiastical.

My Lord *Say* conceived the seeking of ground for a ruling elder out of the Jewish church, would be loss of labour; for that the church and state were so mixed, as that it cannot any way pattern evangelic churches; and therefore he moved that this scrutiny might be waved.

There was some debate upon this, which held us very long, and yet concluded nothing upon it; but at last I proposed that we might hasten the material things that tend to settlement, and let these speculations alone till leisure, and fall to action; which was hearkened to and followed by Mr. *Sedgwick;* and so the present subject was laid by for the present; and so we appointed some other work, viz. the office of a deacon; upon which Dr. *Burgess* reported at the very instant, viz. "That it was the office of a deacon to take special care to distribute to the necessaries of the poor:" and this being done, we adjourned.

Friday, Dec. 15.]—This morning we fell upon the part of the deacon's office, brought in yesterday by Dr. *Burgess.*

Mr. *Rayner* denied not the institution of deacons from Acts vi. but questioned the continuance.

Mr. *Herrick* questioned, whether the deacon in 1 Tim. vii. and Philip. i. 1, be the same with the deacon in Acts vi. To him Dr. *Gouge* answered.

Mr. *Vines:* The Hellenists were proselytes of the covenant, and not Jews. The rise of these was occasional, but not the use. The ministering to the tables was therein bid "viduarum et pauperum," and that every day. Some have denied these in Acts vi. to be deacons, because they have measured these by the deacons of their own times, and have been willing rather to deny these than their own.

I spake to this place: 1. That these were ministers, because they were πλήρεις πνεύματος ἁγίου, before they had imposition of hands. 2. That these seven were appointed for the seven nations of the western dispersion, and we find none for the eastern.

Mr. *Palmer:* Wheresoever the New Testament speaketh of ministering to the poor, it useth the word Διακονία.

After many debates upon this place and point, the matter came to the question, and was voted affirmative.

Monday, Dec. 18.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

Being set, Mr. *Case* related what success he had with tendering the covenant at Bow, which was very good.

There was also a motion made by Mr. *Carter,* sen. for collection of something towards the door-keeper and porter; but nothing was done in it.

This morning we wanted work, for none of the committees brought in any thing; only there was a motion to add some more company to the committee for the Antinomian business, because of its weight and haste; and so were Mr. *Vines,* Mr. *Hall,* Mr. *Lightfoot,* and Mr. *Conant,* accordingly added; and so we adjourned and fell into our committees.

Tuesday, Dec. 19.]—Being set this morning, Dr. *Temple,* the chairman of the third committee, reported upon part of the pastor's office to this purpose:

" 1. That it is a part of the pastor's office to visit the sick, James v. 14.

" 2. So to watch over his flock in private, and to be diligent upon all occasions, in warning particular persons, that nothing be omitted, that they be not seduced by errors, on his part, Acts xx. 28—31."

Dr. *Smith* spake first to James v. and conceived, that that place seemeth most properly to refer to those times when there was the gift of miracle.

Then there fell out a question, " Whether the first proposition were current or no? 1. Because the visiting of the sick is a charitative duty, and not a peculiar part of an office; 2. Because the pastor, in contagious diseases, must not go because of the good of the whole congregation, for ' publicum bonum privatum preponderat.' "

Dr. *Gouge* spoke to this: 1. That if this be laid down as an office of his, it may hinder his public office. 2. The reformed churches put not this upon the pastor, but have a consolator on purpose.

Mr. *Reynor,* Mr. *Ley,* and Mr. *Gattaker,* therefore, desired a limitation in this business might be found.

Mr. *Young:* The Lutherans have confession still in use among them; and he that is the confessor to such a man, is tied to come to him when he is sick, be it of whatsoever disease. Zanchy, in Epist. ad Ephesios, denieth this, and controverts it against one that maintained it.

Mr. *Taylor* said, That he had had letters out of Helvetia, from some ministers that maintain it the office of the pastor to visit the sick, even of the plague; and therefore thought it needful we should clear this before we go farther.

Dr. *Burgess* moved this limitation, "That it is his duty, in cases of necessity, and being required of him to settle their consciences if troubled, so that it be not to the danger of the persons nor to the hindrance of the public."

Mr. *Henderson* said, That among them in Scotland it is the ruling-elder's office, as to look to their manners, so to look at their sickness; and if they cannot satisfy the consciences of them, then the minister is to be sent for.

Now about the being sent for, or going unsent for, there was a great deal of debate.

Dr. *Smith* tendered this, "That it is the pastor's duty to visit the sick where it is necessary, possible, and safe." But Mr. *Marshal* gainsaid this, as unnecessary.

Mr. *Hall* confirmed the proposition out of this place, Ezek. xxxiv. 2. 4; and withal said, It is an affirmative proposition, and so 'non [licuit?] id semper.'

Mr. *Palmer* urged the necessity of the pastor's going to the sick, though they be not sent for; and moved, "That this proposition might be deferred till to-morrow, because we cannot take up and vote a thing on the same day."

Then came in the quære about visiting prisoners, and cost some discourse. But we passed to the second proposition, and it was read; which when it was, it was called on, "That the scripture, produced to prove the first proposition, viz. James v. might be taken into debate;" but that was again moved to be referred till to-morrow: whereupon Dr. *Burgess* moved, "That a report of their committee might be taken, and that in regard of some great business that lies upon us, viz. the Antinomian business, the Psalms, &c., we might adjourn into committees, and [*] committees;" and so he reported to this purpose.

1. The office of a deacon is perpetual in the church, 1 Tim. iii. 8, Rom. xii. 8.

2. It hath been debated in the committee whether it pertain to the office of a deacon to assist the minister in preaching of the word, and administration of the sacrament; but it was not determined upon, but referred to the judgment of the Assembly; which when he had done, he moved that this afternoon our work might be upon the Psalms; and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, Dec. 20.]—The first thing done this morning, was the reading of a letter sent to the Assembly from Duræus, from the Hague, dated Dec. 3. wherein he promiseth to come over to us; and withal he sent a copy of a vow or oath that he had made and tendered to Oxenstiern, chancellor of Sweden, wherein he bindeth himself to prosecute a reconciliation between Protestants in point of religion.

There was this morning an amanuensis came in, namely, Mr. *Walley*. He read this his oath, which was in Latin, but his letter in English.

This being ended, we fell upon the report brought in yesterday by the first committee, concerning deacons: viz. upon this proposition:

"The office of a deacon is a perpetual office in the church," 1 Tim. iii. 8, 9, &c. Rom. xii. 8, 9.

Mr. *Palmer* first spake to this: That indeed these places hold out such an office, but not the perpetuity of it. 2. What need of these in these times, when the civil magistracy provides overseers for the poor; and if the Roman emperor had so provided for Christians in those times, it is question whether there had been ever a deacon made. 3. That there are many congregations, where is no necessity of it; for they want poor.

To him Mr. *Wilson* answered, That though there be not poor at home, yet must they flow out to other churches.

Mr. *Wilkinson*, sen.: 1. There is a perpetuity of the necessity of this office; "the poor ye shall have always," and there is a blessing upon the beneficial, Deut. xv. 11.

2. In the primitive church the apostles themselves did make use of it. Paul bids bring Mark, for he is εὔχρηστος εἰς Διακονίαν.

Mr. *Gibbon:* The apostle gives two names to the deacon, μεταδιδοὺς and ἐλεῶν: now, though there be no poor whereon to exercise the first title, yet are there whereon the second.

Dr. *Smith* tendered to have 1 Cor. xii. 23, added to the proofs; but it was not accepted as yet.

Dr. *Burgess,* out of the eleventh verse of 1 Tim. iii. went about to prove the continuance of deaconry.

Mr. *Goodwin:* God doth sometimes establish the law of nature, and make it an institution, 1 Cor. ix. 11; and so came synagogues to an ordinance; so 1 Cor. xiv. one to speak at once and to be understood, are laws of nature, yet there made institution.

2. The poor in a church require more provision than the law of nature dictates; for, 1. Nature provides for them as men, but they are also to be considered as members of Christ. 2. God hath enhanced the providing for the poor to the dignity of a duty, service, and sacrifice.

Mr. *Coleman* questioned whether the same office, mentioned in 1 Tim. iii., is the same with that in Acts vi.

For, 1. They are not called deacons, Acts vi. at all.

2. It is more probable that the deacons, 1 Tim. iii. do suit better to those that were serviceable to the apostles in the works of the ministry.

3. The deacons in the primitive church were of this nature, and were rulers of the church; and for this he cited the Apostles' constitutions, Cyprian, and Sozomen.

Dr. *Smith* answered him, 1. Διακονεῖν τραπέζαις imports such an officer as may be called 'diaconus.'

2. That the men in Acts vi. were as highly qualified as that in Timothy.

Mr. *Gillespie* spake largely also to answer him, and shewed what inconveniencies we should fall into, if we should boggle at this officer's perpetuity.

Mr. *Palmer:* It is the same office with them, Acts vi. because they in Acts vi. were ordained to take care for the poor, and the same necessity was in other churches: and he spake very largely in answer to those things which were given in, in answer to these things that he had tendered at first.

Mr. *Herle* answered him again.

Mr. *Vines* confessed the perpetuity of deacons; for that which is occasional in the rise, yet may be perpetual in the use; and the thought is fitter that the provision of officers, made by the civil state for the poor, should rather slip into this office of a deacon than 'e contra,' because it bears the

badge of the Lord; and out of Cajetan he proved the office, Acts vi. and 1 Tim. iii. to be the same.

Mr. *Selden:* There were some special reasons proper for that time, as choice of judges, 1 Cor. vi, not to be imitated now; so was deacons.

Mr. *Lightfoot:* 1. The eastern dispersion of the Jews in Acts vi. had not deacons then, when the western had. 2. The multitude of the church in that place were all from home; and *ergo*, not a proper copy for future times. 3. The collections and the deacons, mentioned in the epistles, were for the relief of the church at Jerusalem.

Mr. *Palmer* took up Mr. *Vines's* motion, "That the civil officers for the provision for the poor, might slip into a deacon."

This business, after a very long debate, was at last called to the question, and was near it; but it was thought fit at length to defer it awhile; and so we adjourned.

Thursday, Dec. 21.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20.

Being set, Mr. *Ley* reported something concerning one Mr. *Herring*, who is come out of Holland, and "mali nominis," and desires a sequestration; but Mr. *Sympson* and Mr. *Bridges* confirming the report, it was waved and declined to give him a testimony.

He also spake of one that had no Latin, nor ever had been at the university, and yet would preach well; and he desired our testimonial for his commendation to a sequestration, but it was denied.

This being done, Mr. *Palmer* brought in some temper for one question in hand yesterday, viz. 1. It is the command of God in nature, that there be in every commonwealth some officers to take care of the poor. 2. There were such in the apostles' time, by divine institution called deacons. 3. In like times of persecution both nature and Scripture command that the church have such officers.

4. It is most consonant to Scripture and Christ's institution, that the case of his poor members should be committed rather to officers of their own than others, yea though the magistrate be Christian.

There were large debates, upon which of these to fix and which to leave out; among others, Mr. *Rutherford* distinguished upon the institution of deacons, Acts vi. that the

occasion was the murmuring, &c. but the 'motivum' was the good of the church to the end of the world: as the occasion of John's Gospel was Ebion and Cerinthus, but the 'motivum' was the good of the church for ever; and so the Epistle to Philemon, and the case of Zelophehad.

Many spake of this subject in hand, and some exceeding largely; at last I, that had dissented from the proposition yesterday, yet consented to give my vote to the fourth proposition, which moved something towards the question; but Mr. *Henderson* having brought another proposition, which indeed was the very sense with that we had in hand yesterday, those of that party that hold him of continuance, called for that to be put to the question; but it was put in between, that this very matter might be laid aside, till we have found out what else the deacon hath to do. At last it was put to the question, Whether we should put the perpetuity of the deacon's office to the question, and it was voted affirmatively; and then was the proposition that we had in hand yesterday, put to the question, and voted also affirmatively; but I gave my negative. After this was done we adjourned.

Friday, Dec. 22.]—Being set, Dr. *Gouge* first moved, for a collection to be made among us for our attendants, the door-keepers and porter; which was agreed upon.

Next, Mr. *De la March* brought in a petition from the French congregation; and they themselves that brought it, were called in.

The tenor of it was, first, a congratulation for our meeting, and then laying open of their charter made by Edward the Sixth, for their church in this city; and then a grievous complaint of two that have made a fearful rent and schism in their church; the one a doctor, and the other once a monk, who have separated from their congregation, and begin to gather churches; and therefore desired us to present their complaint to the Houses.

Their petition being read, there were certain chosen for the taking of this business into consideration; and the petitioners being called in again, our prolocutor certified them of it.

Then did Mr. *Rutherford*, Mr. *Bayly*, two of the Scottish divines, and Mr. *Cawdry*, a new member of our Assembly, and Mr. *Walley*, our new scribe or amanuensis, take the covenant.

This being done, Mr. *Gibson* proposed, that a select committee of Hebricians might be chosen, to consult with Mr. *Rows* upon the Psalms, from Psalm to Psalm, for the solidity of the work, and for the honour of the Assembly; this cost us some large debate, but nothing done in it.

Then fell we upon the business of the day, to consider farther, "Whether the deacon have any other office than concerning the poor."

And first Mr. *Wilkinson*, sen. gave the character of a deacon; that he is an officer, subordinate to the pastor as the Levites to the priests, subservient to the pastor as far as his ability and authority will extend. He also shewed the continuance of his office: 1. Because the poor shall be always. 2. Because God hath promised a blessing upon contribution to the poor.

His other employments: Praying, reading the word, baptizing, visiting the sick, 2 Tim. iv. 11.

Dr. *Smith* gave his opinion of the deacon. 1. In regard of his qualification, Acts i. μαρτυρούμενοι. 2. Πλήρεις πνεύματος, &c. σοφίας. 3. Ἔχειν μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως, &c. id est, the most abstruse points in religion. 4. Προϊστάμενον τέκνων, καὶ τῶν ἰδίων οἴκων, this refers to οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ.

1 Cor. vi. 4. ἐξουθενημένοι, must deal in Βιωτικοῖς; now if such may be set up over Βιωτικὰ, then certainly the deacon with such qualifications had a greater work. 2. In regard of ordination it was: 1. They were to be approved, set apart, and chosen; Δοκιμαζέσθωσαν, id est, examined. 2. They had imposition of hand. 3. A blessing with it. Stephen did no miracles before imposition of hands; and after, both he and Philip did wonders. Thus did they at Samaria upon the imposition of hands of Peter and John.

3. After ordination they did baptize, then did preach.

Objection. But Philip preached as an evangelist.

Answer. The deacon and evangelist, as some conceive, are convertible.

I answered to the doctor in this, That the seven deacons had the power of miracles before imposition of hands.

Mr. *Wilson:* 1. The widow was μαρτυρουμένη, and yet was not a preacher.

2. The mystery of godliness is pertinent to every one to have:—and thus went he on, and answered the doctor from point to point; and so did Mr. *Bathurst* also.

Mr. *Goodwin*, out of Luke i. and Acts xi. would prove that the Holy Ghost importeth sanctification. Yet did he also confute the doctor in every particular.

Mr. *Gillespie* offered these arguments to prove that the office of a deacon doth contain preaching and baptism. 1. If it do, why should he not administer the Lord's supper; unless it be as the Levites that were not priests, might not sacrifice?

2. The apostle doth not require that the deacon should be apt to teach.

3. What was the χρεία in Acts vi.? it was only attending upon tables.

4. Philip preached by the virtue of another ordination, and not by the ordination in Acts vi.

This business held a long and large debate; but at last was put to the question, "Whether the deacon be to assist the pastor in preaching and administering the sacraments;" and it was voted negatively: but at the vote I was absent, being called away upon some occasion into London.

After this vote, was a proposal made by some, "That the Assembly would determine whether there should be any sermon upon Christmas-day:" but it was waved to treat of it, because we are not yet come to it.

Then was there some question how long we should adjourn, and some few would have had us to have sitten on Christmas-day; but it was more generally thought otherwise; and so we adjourned till after the fast, viz. till Thursday.

In the afternoon, the city-ministers met together to consult whether they should preach on Christmas-day, or no. Among them there were only Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Newcomen*, and myself, of the Assembly. And when Mr. *Calamy* began to incline that there should be no sermon on that day, and was like to sway the company that way, I took him aside, and desired him to consider seriously upon these things. 1. That one sermon preached at the feast of the dedication, which had but a human original, John x. 2. That the thing in itself was not unlawful. 3. That letting the day utterly fall without a sermon, would most certainly breed a tumult. 4. That it is but this one day, for the next we hope will be resolved upon about it by authority. 5. That he, being an Assembly-man, and advising them, would bring

an odium undeserved upon the Assembly. With these things I prevailed with him to change his mind; and so he also prevailed with the company; and it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, only some four or five gainsaying, that they would preach, but withal resolving generally to cry down the superstition of the day.

There came in, also, into the Assembly, this day, before it rose, which I had forgot, from one of their committees, certain considerations or arguments against gathering of churches in these times, consented to by the most of the Independents in the Assembly. It was urged that they should lay down and resign the churches they had already gathered; but when that could not be obtained, the other was accepted and ordered.

Thursday, Dec. 28.]—This morning, were given to every one of us, before we fell to our business, those considerations, printed, which had passed the Assembly before it rose on Friday.

Our work, being sat, was upon 1 Tim. iii. 8, 9, &c. to prove that the office of a deacon is perpetual in the church, and Rom. xii. 8.

Mr. *Coleman:* The place in Timothy shews the qualification of a deacon, but not his perpetuity.

Dr. *Burgess* answered him: That the same reason there is necessity of a pastor, and continuance of him, the same is there of a deacon.

Mr. *Palmer:* The deacons, in time of persecution, had great boldness in the faith in Christ, because the persecutor's eye was specially upon them: but how can we now apply that clause of Timothy to a deacon's office?

Mr. *Marshal:* Paul used that argument, in those times, to make them careful of their choice, which argument, though it suit not with these times, yet may the person.

Mr. *Sympson:* The Βαθμὸς is not a higher degree in the ministry; for he may perform his whole office singularly well, and yet not be fit to be a preacher: but his Βαθμὸς means the honour that he should get by his good carriage in his office; and so his παῤῥησία will be his confidence and comfort upon the like discharge.

Mr. *Bridges:* Calvin lays the emphasis upon καλὸν, 'id est,' for the present they should get them great honour; and he might be thought fit to be called to be a ruling-elder.

This place, after a good large debate, was at last put to the question, and voted affirmatively; but my mind not with it.

And so we fell upon Rom. xii. 8, and it was urged, by Dr. *Temple* and Mr. *Marshal*, that it should be waved as not full enough for the purpose. But others put it on, and would not have it declined, and it held a very large debate.

While it was in debate, I was sent for out by a man recommended to me by Mr. *Spencer*, who brought a bundle of books, or rather copies of one book, directed to the Assembly from Amsterdam, from one of the Separation, in which he pleadeth, that we are bound in conscience to tolerate all sects: I got Mr. *Byfield* to come to look upon them, and Mr. *Seaman* and Dr. *Burgess*, and we put the books into Mr. *Byfield's* hands, and enjoined the man to come to-morrow, and he shall know the mind of the Assembly.

When I came into the Assembly again, I found them still upon Rom. xii. 8; and they were then coming upon an inclination to wave it, which was accordingly done.

Then fell we upon Acts vi. to prove the same point, which, with a little ado, was put to the question, and voted affirmatively; but only myself and some three or four more giving the negative.

Then had we some debate about the committees' sitting; whether to sit every day, or every other day; but nothing resolved upon, but only waved it should not be debated.

Then was there tendered a clause from the committee, concerning widows, which was put to the question, whether it should be voted or no; and it was voted negatively.

After this, the business from Amsterdam was called to be read; and it was very much opposed by the Independent party; and it cost a great deal of agitation and a little hot; and, after all, it was not read.

Friday, Dec. 29.]—The first thing done this day, was, that the chairman of the committee chosen to consider of the schism begun in the French church, reported that the committee, upon the consideration of it, do find it a matter of very much concerning, and therefore desire that the matter might be speedily transmitted to the House of Commons; and it was accordingly ordered that the committee should bring it in.

Then fell we upon the work of the day concerning wi-

dows, viz. This clause brought in by the second committee, That widows that we read of in 1 Tim. v. 2, and elsewhere, are comprehended under the name of deacons.

Mr. *Gibbon:* Widows are church-officers, 1. Because in 1 Tim. iii. there is mention of church-officers, and widows come in among. 2. These things agree not to an eleemosynary widow, 1 Tim. v. 9, 10. 3. She must have a salary from the church: *ergo,* an officer. 4. Μὴ καταλεγέσθω. This catalogue was of the officer.

But what use of these? To keep women sick and with child. And then he would prove out of Phil. i. 1, Rom. xii. 8, that widows are comprehended under the deacon's title. And ὁ ἐλεῶν meaneth her. Then named he what he thought the office of a deacon: 1. To gather the alms of the church, 1 Cor. xvi. Λόγια is the whole accounts of the church. 2. To distribute these. 3. To entertain strangers; and so thinks Calvin, Martyr, &c. 4. To shew mercy to the sick, or with child, in attending them, with words of piety.

Mr. *Coleman* answered him, and argued the contrary, thus: All qualifications in 1 Tim. v. are required *à parte ante,* and nothing spoken of her duty. And all the works of charity there required, both in Old and New Testament, wives haveperform ed them as well as widows.

Mr. *Seaman* would prove the widow an officer, because it is said Τίμα, 'id est,' she is to have an honourable salary.

Mr. *Herle* answered Mr. *Gibbon,* from point to point: 1. The apostle gives over his treaty of church officers at the third chapter. 2. In the beginning of this chapter, he shews plainly, that he speaks of old and young men and women, and these ordinary ones, and not officers. 3. The widows here spoken of, are such as are to be at the charge of the congregation, ver. 16. And I added, that that may be confirmed out of ver. 4.

Mr. *Bridges* proved by her being chosen at sixty, and not before, that she was an officer.

I answered, that that very thing diverts me from that opinion; for that under the Old Testament, the officers at the temple were dismissed at fifty years; and it is wonder that here an officer should not be chosen till sixty.

Mr. *Sympson* would prove her an officer by these reasons: 1. Here are her qualifications: 1. Some gradually different from other saints: one that hopes in God, id est, like to her

that is unmarried: that mindeth God, and rejoiceth in tribulation, having lost her husband and estate. 2. She able to pray, Δέησις and προσευχή. 3. She hath washed the disciples' feet.

2. Some qualifications common with bishops and deacons. 1. To be blameless.

3. She an officer, because reckoned up among officers, Rom. xii. 8, 1 Tim. v. 7, ἐλεῶν.

4. There is her election, καταλεγέσθω; a special register.

5. A command to these women to attend their office, ὁ ἐλεῶν ἐν ἱλαρότητι.

6. It was an employment out of which she was not to depart—she must not leave τὴν πίστιν πρώτην, 'id est,' not from her former office, as Matt. xxiii. 23.

7. Phebe was Διάκονος.

Then did he cite divers authors, that hold the widow an officer, as Cajetan, Estius, &c. and Protestants, Calvin, Beza, Cameron, &c.

Mr. *Marshal* proposed these doubts against it; and proved here is meant a widow that was to live on the alms:

1. The apostle gives orders, that those that have friends able to maintain them, ver. 4, and 16.

2. He does not so much describe what she now is, as what she hath been heretofore.

Mr. *Bridges:* The attendance of the poor by the widow, is not fixing to attend any in their chambers, but going up and down to visit the sick.

Mr. *Gillespie:* There were some widows that were eleemosynary, and not church-officers; and there were those that were both.

Mr. *Goodwin* urged this phrase of forsaking her first faith, to infer that she had an office: for that it was not unlawful simply to marry.

The office of this widow, was not only to attend the sick, but to attend on God in devotion in some singular way: and her waiting on supplication and prayer, is not spoken of her being so before her choice, but her work under [*]

Mr. *Goodwin* answered me, That the priests were enlarged from their service, because of the burden of the service in carrying the ark and sacrifices.

I answered, That the ark was fixed after Solomon's time; and that the courses of the priests were so full, as that eighty

opposed [*]; and Josephus saith their courses had five thousand a-piece at least in them, and their service but one week in half a-year:—and therefore could not be so overladen with work.

Dr. *Hoyle* expounded καταστρηνιάζειν 'to be got with child;' and so denied their first faith or profession, and they would use marriage, which was ordained to prevent lust, to the cloaking of their lust.

Mr. *Palmer:* The whole scope of the apostle begins and ends with the maintenance of these widows, ver. 4. 16. He describes those widows, that he would have such care of, to be widows indeed, that is, those that have no friends to take care of; as ver. 3, 4. 16.

Dr. *Burgess*, who this day sat in the chair: The widows here spoken of, are poor widows, that had honoured the gospel, in their former times, and were now grown into want, that a special care should be taken for them; but so as to take some care themselves for the attending and services of others of the church.

A widow indeed, is such a one as God had made a widow, and not one that was divorced or had divorced their husbands. And so she is said to be the wife of one man; 'id est,' that had not for any lightness thus changed her husband. Such were to be received to the alms of the church, and to be servants of the church, not in any public office, but to be at the church's command, to entertain strangers and the persecuted.

Dr. *Temple:* Καταλεγέσθω is set in reference to something that went before: and that is in ver. 3, into the number of those that are widows indeed.

This debate held exceeding long, and was much canvassed "pro et contra;" at last it was called to the question, and was voted affirmatively, only by one voice odds: when it was my unfortunacy to be called into the city before it came to the vote. And so they adjourned till Monday morning, resolving then to debate, Rom. xvi. 1, 2, xii. 8, for proof of their proposition: which proposition was utterly against my mind, and far different from my judgment.

Monday, Jan. 1, 1644.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer. Being set, our rules for regulating of our debates were read, according to an order made, that so they shall be, every first day of the month.

Mr. *Seaman* moved, that St. Gregory's, under Paul's, might have some of our members sent thither to tender them the covenant: for that yet they have not taken, and desire so to do; and Dr. *Burgess* was appointed to do it.

There was also an order from both Houses read, which, being made December 18, admitteth Sir *Robert Harlow* for a member of our assembly.

Then fell we upon Rom. xvi. 1, 2. Dr. *Temple*: Two things do here require proof: 1. That Phœbe was a widow. 2. That she was a deacon, "proprio sensu:" but nobody undertook it, and so it was speedily desired to be waved. But Mr. *Sympson* answered, That she was a widow, is the common consent of interpreters; and it appears, by that her husband is not named. 2. She is said to be a deaconess of the church of Cenchrea.

Dr. *Gouge:* Διάκονος is used in the New Testament twenty-nine times; and but twice for an officer, Phil. i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 8. 10. 12, 13.

And Luke viii. 3. the wife of Chuza and other women διηκόνουν τῷ Χριστῷ.

Mr. *Bridges* proved, that Phœbe was "sanctimonialis," id est, "non secularis." If Phœbe was the same widow that is mentioned, 1 Tim. v. then this proof is pregnant; but she is so. The widow in Tim. is a church-officer. 1. Because the apostle spends so much time in describing, and requires such pre-requisites in her. 2. Divers things in her hold some proportion with other officers. As the bishop and deacon must be husband of one wife, and so she the wife of one husband. 3. Younger widows, if they wax wanton, will marry: but it is no wantonness to marry: *ergo*, it is because they that are devoted, may not marry.

Now that Phœbe was such a one. 1. She is Διάκονος τῆς ἐκκλησίας. 2. οὖσα. 3. Sive [*] Connotatione. 4. Repeated in the postscript. And withal he spake very long in answer to some objections, and concluded with the testimony of Origen, Theodoret, Calvin, Osiander, Gualter, Bucan, holding Phœbe to be a church officer.

Then I answered Mr. *Sympson* [who had argued] that "Phœbe's husband is not named; *ergo* she is a widow." Answer; Moses' father is not named in the story of his

judging and delivering, Exod. ii; and yet Paul, Heb. xi. 23, joins his father with him.

Dr. *Temple* held Phœbe to be a woman of some good quality: and that she did mean offices for the church, and thought it an honour so to do, and yet had no need of the church's alms; she is said to be προστάτις, that is, 'one that helped many.' Yea, and Paul himself, who was not entertained by her at the alms of the church. 2. She had business at Rome; *ergo*, no inferior woman. 3. She carried Paul's epistle: now it is strange a poor old woman should be sent with that epistle.

Mr. *Young:* οὖσαν Διάκονον: id est, an honourable entertainer of strangers, Luke x; or a courteous one to those in prison, as Paul kept Mark ὅτι εὔχρηστος πρὸς διακονίαν: such a one was Phœbe.

The Scriptures and the writers of purer times hold not out any such officer; and this he proved out of Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, fourth council of Carthage, &c.

While this business was in debating, which was exceeding long, Mr. *Marshal's* sermon, preached at the funeral of Mr. *Pym*, was delivered to every one of us.

After a very long debate, the business was put to the question, and voted negatively, viz: that this place, Rom. xvi. 1, 2, shall not be brought to prove the proposition; and so we adjourned.

Tuesday, Jan. 2.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of John xii. 25.

Being set, Dr. *Stanton* reported from our committee these two propositions: 1. Pastors and teachers have a power to inquire and judge who are fit to be admitted to the sacraments, or kept from them: as also who are to be excommunicated or absolved from that censure, Matt. xxviii. 19, 1 Cor. iv. 1, Matt. xvi. 19, 1 Cor. v. 5.

2. To order all the service and worship of God, as may make most for edification, Act. xx. 28, 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

After this report was read, we fell upon the characters of apostles, added to some things brought in before, and reported December 5th.

1. The apostles themselves had power to ordain officers in all churches, and to appoint evangelists to ordain, Act. vi. 3, and xiv. 23, Tit. i. 5.

2. They had power to order all the service and worship of God, as might make most for edification, 1 Cor. xi. per totum, especially 23. 28. 34, 1 Tim. ii. 8. 12, 2 Cor. xi. 28, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. 37. 40, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

3. To determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience in all churches, either "vivâ voce," or by writing, Act. xv. per totum, and xvi. 4, and xxi. 25, 1 Cor. vii. per totum, Gal. v. 2, 3.

Mr. *Coleman* urged to have the phrase cleared in the first proposition.

Mr. *Sympson* desired a farther explanation of the word *officer*, and the word *ordain*.

Mr. *Bridges* also excepted at the proposition, as first including, that the apostles alone had power to ordain; and secondly, that what power other elders have, is ubt derived; and he instanced in the lords-keepers making justices. 2. It includes, that the direction that the apostles gave to the evangelists as Tit. i. 5, was "potestativa," and not "socialis," which (he said) was the distinction of Mr. *Baynes;* and therefore he desired that this clause about *ordination* might be referred to that committee, to which that subject is committed already; for that he disliked the derivation of ordaining from apostles to evangelists: and for this he alleged Morney du Plessy, who concluded that the keys were as immediately given to the elders as to the apostles.

Mr. *Marshal*: No absurdity will follow upon a truth; if this be a truth, that they had such power as the proposition relateth, we are not to fear inconveniences that may follow.

Mr. *Gattaker* conceived the proposition contained two distinct axioms, and therefore desired they might be handled severally, which was backed and agreed upon; and first this was taken in hand,—"The apostles themselves had power to ordain officers in all churches." There was some debate whether to retain or reject the word *themselves*, and divers judgments were given "pro et contra:" and at last, it was left out.

Then was some controversy about the proposition as it was left without this. Mr. *Rutherford* moved that it might be expressed, "The apostles had power to ordain offices,

though evangelists and presbyters had not:" which was very much opposed, and therefore we fell upon the proposition as it lay concerning officers.

Mr. *Carter,* jun. moved, that the word *ordain* might be altered; which Mr. *Vines* spake against: and after a long debate upon this and some other points, it was at last put to the question, and voted affirmatively, "nemine contradicente."

Then came the texts of Scripture to hand, and Act. vi. 3. 6, was ordered to pass without any controversy upon it at all.

Then was Act. xiv. 23, taken into consideration; and Mr. *Carter,* jun. spake against it as improper; and Mr. *Gillespie* moved, that the place might be waved, because of the great controversy that is upon it; and he with Mr. *Carter* held that χειροτονία signifieth not *ordination,* but *election.*

To this Mr. *Gattaker* answered out of Act. x. 42, that it signifieth *ordaining.* I also answered, 1. That Zonaras and Balsamon agree not in this, that χειροτονία is *election* in Can. Apost. 2. That χειροτονία may as well signify *stretching out* the hand to lay upon a man, as to *hold it up* to elect him. 3. That it was impossible in those times for the people to choose their ministers, because none were fit in those times to be ministers, but by the gift of the Holy Ghost: and therefore for the people to nominate or choose out who should receive the Holy Ghost, was to limit the Holy Ghost.

Mr. *Young* and Mr. *Seaman* backed me in that passage of Balsamon, and added more; and after them, I was to speak, both "pro et contra;" but at last it was resolved to refer this till to-morrow: so we adjourned.

Wednesday, Jan. 3.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of John xxiv. 15.

Being set, Mr. *Marshal* apologized in behalf of himself and Mr. *Calamy,* in regard of the distribution of the money that was put into their hands a late by the House of Commons, for the members of this Assembly, that they might be cleared of partiality.

After this, Mr. *Case* reported from my Lady *Waller,* who yesterday sent to the Assembly for our prayers for Sir *William,* who was like to be in a strait; that now (blessed be God) she had received tidings from him, that he was in a

good posture; that [*] was turned from him; and Arundel castle, in good likelihood to be shortly his; and therefore she desired thanksgiving to God.

Then began we upon the work of the day, viz. upon Acts xiv. 23.

Mr. *Herrick* first moved, that it should not be too strictly stood upon, for it is sufficient enough to have the proposition.

Mr. *Gattaker* desired, 1. That we might not fall upon the point about ordination, and in whose hands it lay, but fall directly upon the thing in hand. 2. That we should not be laden with human authorities. 3. That Scripture phrases should not be challenged to profane explanations; for that the words πίστις and δικαιοῦσθαι are not possible to be explained by them, as the Scripture meaneth. 4. He concluded, that none of the Greek expositions upon this place takes it for *popular election.*

Mr. *Palmer:* Profane authors never use χειροτονία, but it is governed by the substantive that it is joined to; and so it is to be joined to Paul and Barnabas.

Mr. *Vines* cited Demosthenes and other profane authors, that use χειροτονέω for *popular election:* but it is never said by them, that the magistrate did χειροτονεῖν officers by the people's votes. 2. That the LXX. render סמיכה by ἐπίθεσις. 3. That the question will lie in this, whether the word χειροτονία be used properly, even in the New Testament. 4. That χειροτονία imports the act of him that holds up his hand. 5. The act here was Paul's and Barnabas's; now this is very improper to conceive.

Mr. *Selden* proved, that though χειροτονία were oldly used for *stretching out* the hand in suffrage, yet is it not to be construed always where we meet it, with such an exact challenge in this ceremony: As "pedibus ire, manus dare, suffragari,' סמיכה is such an innixus, as requireth a stretching out of the hand.

The LXX in Isai. lviii. use χειροτονία for immissionem manuum; and in the Latin translation of the LXX, joined with service, it is rendered "ordination."

Mr. *Sympson:* The apostles did here nothing alike, or what the people might not do with them.

1. χειροτονεῖν is 'to give suffrage' in all lexicons.

2. It is an authoritative act of the people; and cannot be shewed that it was an act of the magistrate alone.

3. When it speaks of the choice of a magistrate, it includes both their votes.

Objection. 'But here it is *χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς*.'

Answer. There is an ellipsis of *Σὺν*, as in other places; as Rev. viii. 3.

Mr. *Bridges*, out of Salmeron, would confirm this choice with suffrage: and he answered,

Acts x. 41. There is *προχειροτονέω*: but *πρὸ* alters the sense. *Αὐτοῖς*. 1. The apostles appointed the people to choose: as Acts vi. 3. 5, so here. 2. The apostles were principal agents in this work. 3. They settled elders for the benefit of the people; and this is the meaning of *αὐτοῖς*. In Acts xv. 22, the church decrees with the apostles and elders; and yet it is said only to be done by the apostles and elders: so here it may be.

He concluded with a motion, that this place might be waved; and this was backed by Mr. *Henderson*.

Mr. *Vines* answered Mr. *Bridge* at large.

Mr. *Marshal* moved, that he might leave this criticism on the Greek, and come to consider what is meant by "ordaining:" or, at least, that we should take in the whole verse, and not lay the stress upon any one particular part of it. This was backed by divers, which held us a very long debate; at last it was voted that this verse should be produced for the proof of the proposition, with this clause added, "*The whole verse*:" and so we adjourned.

Thursday, Jan. 4.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Heb. xii. 4.

Being set, Dr. *Stanton*, the chairman, reported this proposition:

"*Pastors and teachers have power ministerially to resolve controversies of faith, and cases of conscience, according to the word of God*," Mal. ii. 7, 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, Tit. i. 9. He concluded with a report, that the committee had intended to have moved a fourth proposition about ordination, but that that business is specially committed to the third committee. And so there were divers motions and reasons made and given to hasten that business, because of the great necessity of it in the kingdom.

Then fell we upon the business of the day, which was this part of our former proposition, "The apostles had power to appoint evangelists to ordain." Tit. i. 5.

Mr. *Goodwin* began to speak upon this, and denied the pregnancy of the place; and conceived that ὡς διεταξάμην meaneth not his magisterial appointing, but his prescribing a rule and direction, which Titus received from Paul, and which he was to follow in ordaining, and in other things.

He also found out these three propositions in this one.

1. The evangelists had their power to ordain from the apostles.

2. The apostles might appoint them from place to place.

3. They had power to give direction for the manner.

Mr. *Vines* answered him, that this Διεταξάμην is authoritative. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 1 Cor. vii. 17, Acts xv. 2.

Mr. *Bayly* held that evangelists were ordinary officers in the church. Ephes. iv. 11, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Timothy was an evangelist; and yet his calling and preaching was ordinary.

Dr. *Smith* excepted against the proposition as not true: for evangelists had not power to impose hands; and for that Titus is never called "an evangelist."

To this, I answered; 1 That since the evangelists had not power to ordain, and yet Paul enjoineth Titus so to do, it argueth that Titus had the power by deputation from Paul. And, 2. if Titus was not an evangelist, what was he? if of some higher degree, then name it: if of a lower, then a lower than an evangelist might ordain. And to Mr. *Goodwin's* exposition of Διεταξάμην for direction, I answered, That the word importeth something done before; but the directions that Titus must follow in ordaining of elders, follow in the sense after. The debate upon this proposition grew exceeding long and exceeding hot: at the last it was put to the question, Whether the business should be put to the question; and it was voted affirmatively: and being put to the question, the proposition was also voted affirmatively.

After this, the Lord *Wharton* delivered an order from the Lords, wherein they desire, that some member of the Assembly should attend that house weekly, to pray with them before their sitting: whereupon it was ordered, that we should attend weekly, in the order that we stand in the ordinance that called us together: and Mr. *Palmer* begins.

Friday, Jan. 5.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Prov. ii. 20. 22.

Being set, there was a petition read, sent to us from a daughter of Dr. *Folkes,* in which she expresseth, that she, having made an impression of her father's book against the Rhemists; her request is, that we would recommend it to the Houses of Parliament; that they would enjoin every parish in the kingdom to buy one of her.

But this was not thought fit for us to meddle withal; and therefore we desired Mr. *Gibbon,* who brought in the petition, and Dr. *Smith,* might give her a fair answer.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was to debate Tit. i. 5, for proof of the proposition voted yesterday.

Mr. *Coleman* opposed this text, as improper; for that Paul had no power over Titus, as he went about to prove out of other places.

Mr. *Wilkinson,* senior, proved, that the apostles invested those that they employed, with power for the work, as those that they used for baptizing.

Whilst we were thus beginning upon our work, Mr. *Marshal* tendered a report from the committee of Lords, Commons, and some of our divines, of letters drawn up by that committee, to be sent to the several churches in the Low Countries, by our Assembly according to an order of the House of Commons to that purpose. It was first read in English by himself, and afterward, by Mr. *Arrowsmith,* in Latin; for he had translated it. This, being exceeding long, kept us the most of the morning.

When these were almost done, my *Lord General* came in; and the Prolocutor made a speech for his welcome; and the rather, because the Houses have made him a member of the Assembly.

The letters being read over, there was some small debate upon some part of them; but at last they were approved, and so we adjourned.

Monday, Jan. 8.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer. Being set, we fell upon Tit. i. 5.

Mr. *Coleman* first excepted at the place, as questioning whether Paul commanded him or no, for he calleth him "brother;" but this was soon answered. Mr. *Bridges* also gainsaid the propriety of the text, as not conceiving that

Paul did appoint Titus authoritative; but without any more ado, it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, that it should pass for proof of the proposition.

Then fell we upon the next proposition, brought in by the committee, which was this:

"*The apostles had power to order all the service and worship of God, as might make most for edification.*"

This proposition was excepted against in some particulars, which cost some debate. The first was, that this cannot be called a character of an apostle; for that the same committee hath brought in the very same propositions concerning pastors. To amend this, it was tendered, that the words "All churches" should be added, and, withal, that the word "settle" should be added; and so it was concluded on, and voted affirmatively thus: "The apostles had power to order and settle all the service and worship of God in all churches," &c.

Then were the proofs brought and read; 1 Cor. xi. per totum, but chiefly 23. 28. 34, 1 Tim. ii. 8. 12, 2 Cor. xi. 28, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. 37. 40, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

These were ordered without any debate at all, which had not been done since we sat.

Then fell we upon the third proposition, viz. "The apostles had power to determine controversies of faith, and cases of conscience, in all churches; *vivâ voce*, or by writing." Acts xv. per totum, and xvi. 4.

This proposition was also voted without one word of debate upon it.

Then were the proofs produced; Acts xv. per totum, and xvi. 4.

Then was some debate upon Acts xv. and xvi. 4, because the elders are joined with them in the thing.

Mr. *Herle:* This is not a piece of formal Scripture; for this was penned with some debate among the council.

Mr. *Gillespie*, after a good large debate, moved that the places might be waved, and so they were.

1 Cor. vii. per totum, Gal. v. 2, 3, were then produced, and ordered to pass without any debate at all.

Then were other places offered, as Rom. iii. iv. v. and 1 Cor. xv. and ordered speedily to pass.

Then fell we upon a report, brought in also by the se-

cond committee, Jan. 2. concerning the work of pastors, which was this : " 1. Pastors and teachers have power to inquire and judge who are fit to be admitted to the sacraments, or kept from them; as also who are to be excommunicated or absolved from that censure." Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, 1 Cor. iv. 1, Matt. xvi. 19, 1 Cor. 5, begin.

Mr. *Nye* boggled at this proposition, as doubting it lay too near the business of the apostles; as if it limited their power to descend from the apostles.

Mr. *Gillespie* held the proposition too straight, as excluding the ruling elder, and bringing a jurisdiction, possibly into the hands of one man; which may not be tolerated.

Mr. *Goodwin* also scrupled upon the proposition, in regard of it so near following that of apostles, and because of its excluding the people from the power mentioned.

Dr. Temple scrupled at the word " judging."

Mr. *Selden* desired that the business of excommunication might first be looked upon, for that very much may be said to prove, that there is no excommunication at all; and for that, in this kingdom, ever since it was a kingdom, Christian excommunication hath ever been by a temporal power; as in the pope's rule here, his own excommunications could not be brought in hither, but by permission of the secular power; otherwise, it was death to him that brought it; and excepting the case of heresy and ' concubitus illicitus,' the episcopacy never had power to excommunication.

This motion had good cause to be taken notice of, and was followed by some, though others opposed it; and so it was recommitted to us, of the second committee, to take the whole business of "excommunication and censures" to consideration.

Then *Dr. Burgess* moved to hasten the business against the Antinomians, which was followed exceedingly, and that with some heat; for the doctor having said, that those that we looked after to help to quell it, have failed in it; some of the Independents quarrel it, and thought he spoke of them.

Mr. *Walker* spake plainly, that he had heard this week, one member of one of the churches that came out of Holland, maintain Antinomianism most strongly and stoutly.

Then Mr. *Marshal* desired that some members of the

Assembly might be intrusted to copy out the letters which were to be sent to the reformed churches, and, among others, I was named one.

He also moved, that Mr. *Arrowsmith* might be added to the grand committee of Lords, Commons, and Divines; which was done. And, instead of him, Mr. *Palmer* moved, that Mr. *Cawdry* should be admitted to the Antinomian committee; which was accordingly done, and so we adjourned.

Tuesday, Jan. 9.]—This morning, Mr. *Coleman,* preacher of the Tower, came to be examined for a sequestration; and upon inquiry, he was found to have been one of those that imposed hands, and ordained Mr. *Belcher;* and this, he confessed, very clearly: whereupon, it being put to the question, whether he should have a certificate from this assembly or no, and it was voted *No,* scarce one giving his affirmative: we were not yet set in the Assembly, and yet were a full number.

Being set, Mr. *Marshal* moved again, "That we that were named to write the letters to the reformed churches, should fall upon the business."

Hereupon, Mr. *Gower* motioned, that the clause in them, viz. where the sabbath is called "the Lord's Day," as losing the name of "the Sabbath," and the ground of it, in the fourth commandment. This cost some debate; but it was resolved to retain the phrase, "*The Lord's Day.*"

Then Mr. *Arrowsmith* read his translation of the covenant, which is also to go beyond the seas with the letters; which when it was done, there was some debate upon some expressions, which held something long; at last it was voted this translation should so pass.

Then Dr. *Temple* reported from the third committee, concerning ordination. 1. What ordination is. 2. Whether necessarily to be continued. 3. Who to ordain. 4. What persons to be ordained, and how qualified. 5. The manner how.

To question, 1. Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person, to some public office in the church. Numb. viii. 10, 11. 14. 19. 22, Acts vi. 3. 5, 6. To the 2d question, It is necessarily to be continued in the church. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22, Tit. i. 5. To the 3d, in the New Testament, 1. The apostles did ordain, Acts vi. 6, and xiv. 23, 2 Tim. i. 6.

2. Evangelists did. Tit. i. 5, 1 Tim. v. 22. 3. Preaching presbyters did. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

After this, we had some discourse concerning Mr. *Coleman*, that had held us some time this morning before we sat; and it being again moved that he might be admitted to the place, to which he was commended, viz. Great Munden, in Hertfordshire; this was generally denied: and Mr. *Sedgwick* moved some one of our Assembly might be recommended to that place, and I was nominated; and it was ordered, with unanimous consent, that I should be recommended to the committee for that purpose, for that place.

Wednesday, Jan. 10.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

Being set, my Lord *Mackland* made a motion, that the Assembly would declare itself, how far we comply with them in those points which they put in to us, concerning the Presbyterial government; and that we would draw up what we have done concerning church-officers; that so they might return our minds to them that sent them. This was followed with divers enforcements.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was upon the report brought in yesterday about ordination; and first upon the definition:—

"Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public office in the church."

Then was moved by Dr. *Gouge*, that "by imposition of hands;" and Mr. *Goodwin* would have had, "by election," added: this cost some small debate.

Mr. *Selden* desired to consider what is the effect of, or what follows upon, ordination; for that there is a subsequent election that follows ordination, viz. the appointing the person to this or that place, which was done by one layman, viz. the patron.

Mr. *Wilkinson*, senior, tendered the choice and ordination of Matthias for an authentical pattern for us to follow. It cost some large debate about the proposition; some mainly opposing this, that it was not a perfect definition. Mr. *Calamy*, therefore, offered this, that an "authoritative designation would be the life of the definition." And Mr. *Rutherford* agreed with him in it.

And there was a long "pro et contra" upon the propo-

sition: at last it was put to the question, whether it should be thus added, "*This is a true proposition*, Ordination is," &c. and after three times proposal, it was voted negatively; and then the proposition itself being put to the question, it was voted affirmatively, or that it should pass.

Thursday, Jan. 11.]—Our first work this morning was, that Doctor *Temple* reported from the third committee upon their third, who are to ordain.

"Because apostles and evangelists are officers extraordinary, and not to continue in the church; and since, in Scripture, we find ordination in no other hands, we humbly conceive that the preaching presbyters are only to ordain."

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was, the texts of Scripture, to prove our proposition voted yesterday, viz. Num. viii. 10, 11. 14, &c. I first spake to this, and desired that the 10th and 11th verses might be omitted; for that the mention there of imposition of hands, doth not mean ordination, but as they laid their hands upon the sacrifices for that first the people did offer them to God: and Mr. *Selden* backed this exposition of mine very largely. And Mr. *Gattaker* also approved of it, yet pleaded he for the pregnancy of the text, for the proof of the matter; and this held some long debate, insomuch that Sir *Robert Pie,* with a great deal of vehemency, did urge us to hasten, and blamed our long debates; but yet, Mr. *Bridges,* who had began, went on very largely, but at last was stopt. And then Mr. *Goodwin* began; "In Num. viii. there was no designation of choice, but ordination; and therefore thought the place not so fitting, unless Acts xiii. 2, were taken in:" and this again cost some debate; but at last, being put to the question, it was voted affirmatively, or to pass; and so was also Acts vi. 3. 5. 6, without any debate at all.

Then came we to the next proposition.

"Ordination is necessarily to be continued in the church."

Mr. *Nye* questioned, whether it be necessary, "necessitate finis:" to this, Mr. *Sedgwick* answered, that a minister cannot be a minister without it.

Mr. *Palmer* moved, that the "necessitas præcepti" might be debated apart. And it was ready to be ordered in regard of precept, when Mr. *Herle* interposed, and conceived that "necessitate finis" was rather to be looked after: and

he scrupled at the word "continued," as inferring non-interruption.

This being a while debated, it was at last, in concluding, agreed to put it first, thus, "It is necessarily to be continued, 'necessitate præcepti,'" when Mr. *Whittacre* interposed; and Mr. *Gillespie* backed him with a motion, that these debates might be laid by, and take the proposition as it is: only Mr. *Marshal* moved, that the word "necessarily" might be taken out, as doubtful; and Mr. *Gattaker* tendered, that the word "always" might be put in for it; and so it was concluded on, and ordered; and so we adjourned.

Friday, Jan. 12.]—This morning, we fell upon the texts produced to prove the proposition passed yesterday, which were, 1 Tim. v. 22, Tit. i. 5.

Mr. *Sympson* spake first against the propriety of these places; and Mr. *Vines* first answered him.

Dr. *Temple:* 1. By "laying on of hands" here is "ordination." 2. Imposition of hands in New Testament, was for healing; 2. for blessing; 3. ordination: now this, spoken of in these places, was for neither of the first,—*ergo.* 3. The word "suddenly" were needless, if all that were to enter office, were not ordained. 4. In chap. vi. he enjoins Timothy to observe these things till Christ's coming. Dr. *Smith* added, 1 Tim. iii. 15, to confirm the same.

Mr. *Herrick* interpreted the verse in Timothy, concerning loosing or absolving from the tie of censure, which is mentioned before. To him, Mr. *Marshal* and Dr. *Gouge* answered divers ways; and I added, That imposition of hands is never used in Scripture for absolution, and we must interpret Scripture by Scripture: and I added, That the apostles, by their imposition of hands, gave the Holy Ghost, and so did not only install men into office, but also gave them power to perform that office. Now Timothy had not that power to give the Holy Ghost; *ergo,* the apostle's enjoining him to "lay on hands," can be for nothing but to shew the righteousness of the continuance of it.

Many and large debates were had, "pro et contra," upon this place of Tim.: at last it was put to the question, whether it should be put to the question, and it was voted affirmatively: and being put to the question, it was also voted.

Then was it tendered, that 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14, should be added; but it was refused.

Then fell we upon Tit. i. 5, and it was put to the question, having had but one scruple upon it, and voted affirmatively.

Then Dr. *Burgess* reported, concerning the success he had had in Gregory's parish, under Paul's, about the covenant; and so we adjourned.

Monday, Jan. 15.]—Being set, there was an order from the House of Commons, that some of our Assembly should come to pray with them every morning; and Dr. *Burgess* was sent " pro hac vice ;" for the House of Commons staid, and could not begin till one came; for they were debarred by an order that the House had made, that the Speaker should pray no more; and it was ordered by us, that in the order in which our names stood in the ordinance, that called us together, we should go in order, one to the Lords' House, and another to the Commons.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was this proposition, " In the Scriptures of the New Testament, 1. The apostles did ordain, Acts vi. 6, and xiv. 23, 2 Tim. i. 6."

Dr. *Gouge* moved, that the order of the text might be altered, because Timothy was for ordaining of pastors; Acts xiv. of elders; and Acts vi. of deacons: but it was not embraced. Then was it called to order the proposition; but something was said to the contrary, viz. that we should not vote the proposition, till we had seen how the texts would come up to it; which cost some debate, and very large and various: and at last it was put to the question, whether we should debate the proposition before the Scriptures; and it was voted affirmatively: then was the proposition put to the question, and voted affirmatively.

Then came the Scriptures to examination; and there was a large debate, whether they should be debated, having been voted the last week. At last, Mr. *Goodwin* began upon Acts vi. 6, ἐπέθηκαν τὰς χεῖρας, which did refer as much, or more, to the people as the apostles. Mr. *Vines* answered from ver. 3, that καταστήσωμεν meaneth, singly, the apostles. This cost a large debate; at last it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively: and so also was Acts

xiv. 23, without any debate; and the like was 2 Tim. i. 6, ready to be, when it was called to be waved upon some reason.

Then fell we upon the next proposition, "Evangelists did ordain:" when it was moved to be put to the question, whether the propositions and places, already voted in the Assembly, should be debated again; but it was declined and waved.

Then was the proposition put to the question, and voted affirmatively: and so was Tit. i. 5, to prove it; and so was 1 Tim. v. 22.

Then fell we upon this proposition: "Preaching Presbyters did ordain:" and Mr. *Herrick* would have had the word "preaching" left out: Mr. *Nye* excepted at the proposition, as seeming to include that one presbyter may do it, as one apostle might.

While this was in agitation, the sheriffs of London, some aldermen and common councilmen, came in to us: and Alderman *Fowke* made a speech at large, wherein he mentioned the goodness of God in detection of the last and other plots; the sincere affection of the city to the Parliament; and that the city had invited both Houses to dinner on Thursday next, first to meet at Christ Church, and then to have a sermon by Mr. *Marshal*, and from thence to Merchant Tailors' Hall: and accordingly invited the Assembly to meet them in both places.

Mr. Prolocutor answered him at large.

When they had gone forth, Dr. *Burgess* moved, that our hearty acceptance and gratitude for their kind invitation should be returned to them in writing: which was voted accordingly.

Then fell we upon the debate upon the proposition again: and it was moved again, that the word "preaching" might be left out; which cost long debate. At last, being put to the question, it was voted, that the word "preaching" should be kept in: and then was the proposition put to the question, and voted to pass.

Then Dr. *Burgess* brought in a draught of our answer to the city's invitation, which, after some discussion, was passed.

And then we fell upon 1 Tim. iv. 14, for a proof of the

proposition; which being entered into with a little debate, it was laid by till to-morrow morning.

Then were the sheriffs and citizens called in again, and the Assembly's answer in writing to them given them, and so we adjourned.

Tuesday, Jan. 16.]—The first thing done this morning was, that an order of Lords and Commons was read, which made Sir *Arthur Hasilrig* and Mr. *Reynolds* members of the Assembly.

The next thing was, that Dr. *Gouge* was appointed to attend the House of Commons this week, to pray with them; for that Mr. *Wilkinson* could not come, because of the unseasonableness of the weather.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, viz. on 1 Tim. iv. 14.

Mr. *Herrick* questioned, 1. Whether this place speak of ordination. 2. Whether these presbyters were preaching presbyters. Mr. *Sympson:* "Laying on of hands was used in other things." I answered, that the interpretation, given yesterday by Mr. *Selden*, must needs be the right, viz. סמיכה זקנים. id est, admission to be an elder. 2. That it would be hard to find any presbytery, that might lay their hands on Timothy.

This text cost a great deal of examination and debate, and held us all the day. At the last, it was put to the question, and voted to pass; but myself and some others gave our negative.

Wednesday, Jan. 17.]—Our first business this morning was some debate about one Mr. *Page*, who was to have preached to-morrow, but because of our occasion then, the question was, whether he should preach on Friday; which being put to the question, it was voted that it should be remitted.

Then fell we upon determining, how we should contrive ourselves about our meeting to-morrow at Christ Church: which was concluded on to conform ourselves to the manner of the Parliament.

Then did Mr. *Coleman* offer a recantation or repentance from Mr. *Coleman* of the Tower; wherein he acknowledgeth his fault in ordaining a minister: but the Assembly would not meddle with it.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was this report of the third committee:

"Because apostles and evangelists are officers extraordinary, and not to continue in the church, and since in Scripture we find ordination in no other hands, we humbly conceive, that the preaching presbyters are only to ordain."

We took this business in pieces; and first upon apostles and evangelists, whether they be extraordinary officers: and this cost some time to determine whether we should fall upon this point or not: at last it was concluded, that the former part of the report should be laid down for the present, and that we should fall directly upon the latter part, that "preaching presbyters are only to ordain;" or on this proposition, "ordination is only in the hands of those who by office are to attend the preaching of the word, and administration of the sacraments."

When it was ready to go to the question, whether this should be debated, there was a motion made by Mr. *Calamy*, and backed by Mr. *Gillespie*, that we might not fall as yet upon it. And so it was moved also by others; and this held us debate, whether we should fall upon this or no, till twelve o'clock: and then, upon a motion of Mr. *Seaman's*, there was a committee of Independents chosen, that should state the question concerning ordination: and so we adjourned.

Thursday, Jan. 18.]—This morning we met in Christ's Church, according to the city's invitation; where were also both Houses of Parliament, the Lord-general, the Lord of Manchester, and divers of the chiefest commanders; the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, and a most vast congregation.

Mr. *Marshal* preached upon 1 Chron. xii. 39. After sermon, all the companies that were invited, went to Merchant Tailors' Hall, where, after a brave and sumptuous dinner, the Assembly, dining in a chamber above, sent to the Lords and Commons that dined in the hall all together, that as we had begun at the church with a sermon, so we might conclude at the hall with a psalm: which was done accordingly, all the company meeting in the hall; and so we departed.

Friday, Jan. 19.]—This morning the first thing we did, was, that Mr. *Nye* reported from the Independent committee in these two propositions:

1. Ordination, for the substance of it is the solemnization of an officer's outward call, in which the elders of the church, in the name of Christ, and for the church, do, by a visible sign, design the person, and ratify his separation to his office; with prayer for, and blessing upon, his gifts in the ministration thereof. Acts vi. 3. 6, Numb. viii. 3. 10—19, Acts xiii. 1—3.

2. That the power that gives the formal being to an officer, should be derived by Christ's institution from the power that is in elders as such, on the act of ordination,—as yet we find not any where held forth in the word.

Dr. *Burgess* also reported from the first committee concerning the presbytery.

1. The Scripture holdeth out a presbytery in a church. 1 Tim. iv. 14, Acts xv. 2. 4. 6.

2. A presbytery consisteth of ministers of the word, and such other public officers, as have been already voted to have a share in the government in the church.

Dr. *Stanton* also reported concerning,

1. There is a power of censuring and absolving from censures to be exhibited in the church by the authority and institution of Jesus Christ. Matt. xvi. 19, John xx. 23, 1 Cor. v. 12, 13, 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7. 10.

And for the clearing of this business of church censures, the committee thought fit to inquire into these three things, if the assembly think fit:—1. What the church is, that is to exercise censures. 2. What kind of censures these are. 3. By whom, and in what manner, they are to be exercised. This cost some opposition from the Independents, which would not as yet have the church meddled withal: but at last it was put to the question, and resolved affirmatively, that the second committee should take these three things in hand.

Then fell we upon the Independents' first proposition: and first the word "elders" was held by some to be too obscure and ambiguous: and also in the word "for the church," which Mr. *Nye* had expressly said the committee meant "vice ecclesiæ." Other scrupulous and ambiguous passages were also found; which, after a very long canvass upon them, were laid by, and our old proposition re-assumed, and put to the question, whether it should be de-

bated; and it was voted affirmatively: and so we fell upon it to debate it, viz. "Ordination is only in the hands of preaching elders." Mr. *Marshal* first began: that ordination belongs to the whole presbytery; 1 Tim. iv. 14; *ergo*. Mr. *Vines* answered, that that place of Timothy means only "preaching elders."

This being just now begun, my Lord of *Manchester* brought in an order from the Lords, which requireth the Assembly to dispatch and make haste concerning the business of ordination.

Then fell we upon our work again, and divers were for hastening the business; and a committee was chosen to consider of it; and three out of every committee were chosen for the purpose.

Monday, Jan. 22.]—This day I was at Munden; and it was the first time that I was there, and the first day that I was absent from the Assembly, since we first sat: but the business of the day (as I was informed upon my coming there) was this:

Mr. *Vines* reported from the committee, chosen for considering about ordination for the present, in these two propositions:

1. That, in extraordinary cases, something extraordinary may be done, until a settled order may be had; yet keeping as close as may be to the rule, 2 Chron. xxix. 34.

2. It is lawful, and according to the word, that certain ministers of the city be desired to ordain ministers in the vicinity, "jure fraternitatis."

Then did the chairman of the committee, that was chosen to consider of the presbytery, tender a report: but the Independents were most exceedingly opposite to the reporting of it, so that it cost at least an hour's smart debate and more, before the report could be admitted; and not admitted but by putting it to the question. The tenor of the report was, That there may be many congregations under one presbytery, as in the church at Jerusalem.

After this report, the Assembly fell upon the proposition, concluded upon on Friday, to be debated to-day, viz: "That ordination is only in the hands of the preaching presbyters:"—which held debate all the rest of the day, and that very warm: but, in conclusion, it was laid aside for the present.

Tuesday, Jan. 23.]—This morning we fell upon this proposition, brought in yesterday by the committee:

"That, in extraordinary cases, something extraordinary may be done, until a settled order may be had, yet keeping as close as may be to the rule:" and instance was given, 2 Chron. xxix. 34, &c.

Mr. *Coleman* first would prove, that some were blamed for doing extraordinary things in extraordinary cases: as Saul's offering sacrifice, and the Jews' not sacrificing in Ezra: but this was easily answered by divers.

Mr. *Nye* would have the proposition stated, that, when God doth alter the way of his providence, then we may alter something in our practice: but this was declined with some debate.

Mr. *Herle* tendered thus, "That, in unsettled times, we may do," &c. but this was also declined.

Mr. *Vines* explained the committee's meaning to be, by "extraordinary," to understand in case of necessity: as in uncleanness, hindering to eat the passover, &c., the party must keep it the next month.

Mr. *Bridges* instanced in 1 Sam. vii. 1, in the men of Kirjath-jearim sanctifying Eleazar.

Mr. *Seaman* gave divers instances of this nature: as David's inquiring by the ephod, without the ark; and divers, in the New Testament, preaching, that had not ordination: and that in cases of necessity, all positive laws give place.

Divers spake very largely upon this, "pro et contra," and among the rest I myself: That some positive laws of God gave place not only to necessity, but even to conveniency; as steps in Solomon's altar, and many candlesticks and tables in his temple.

After me also there were divers discourses till towards twelve o'clock: and then was it called to the question,—when Mr. *Goodwin* interposed and spake at large: and after him Mr. *Rutherford,* who scrupled, whether the proof in 2 Chron. xxix. would come up to the proposition,—but put on the matter to the question: and so did Dr. *Gouge:* and it was ready to it again, when Mr. *Nye* again interposed, again and again: my Lord *Say* also spake, and would have had this clause, "keeping ourselves as close to the rule as may be,"—left out: but Mr. *Vines* answered him, That, in keeping the passover on the 14th day of the second month, the

Levites, in the texts alleged, and David's men eating the shewbread, were as near the rule as might be: and so did Mr. *Marshal,* that leaving that clause out would open too large a gap; and so did Mr. *Seaman* explain it largely, how it would. It was called again to the question, and then Mr. *Carter* interposed again, and so did Mr. *Goodwin* and Mr. *Burroughs:* but at last it was put to the question, with this variation, "keeping to the ordinary use of the rule;" which was voted affirmatively;—but then this phrase being scrupled upon before the negative was given, it was revoked, and the question put in the terms first laid down, and voted affirmatively.

This being done and past, Mr *Palmer* moved, that since there was an order on Lord's day last for thanksgiving for the discovery of the last plot; it being very negligently done, he moved that the matter might be recommended to the Houses,—that a more solemn and careful course might be taken, both in this and in all other things of this nature; and for this purpose a committee was chosen to recommend it to the Houses: and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, Jan. 24.]—This morning we fell upon the text of Scripture produced to prove and confirm the proposition we passed yesterday, viz. 2 Chron. xxix. 34.

Mr. *Bathurst* first spake to this place, to confirm it for pregnant; and out of Num. xviii. 4—6, and Lev. i. would prove, that the Levites had nothing to do to slay the sacrifices.

To him I gave an answer, and so did Mr. *Coleman* and Mr. *Selden:* and divers went about to answer us again: but we carried it so far that it was laid aside, and other places were offered: Mr. *Coleman* tendered the example of the Rechabites dwelling in houses; but that was waved: Mr. *Vines* tendered the passover in the second month: Mr. *Seaman,* David's inquiring without the ark: and when some debate had passed upon it, Mr. *Young* moved, that "that in 2 Chron. xxix. might be re-assumed;" and so it was, and put to the question; and the votes were so indifferent in the sound of them, that it came to voting and standing up, and was voted affirmatively; but I gave my negative.

Then fell we upon the instance in the passover in the second month.

Numb. ix. and 2 Chron. xxx. 2—5; which cost some

large debate; and at last the latter place in Chron. was put to the question, and the votes came very near to equality; but the affirmative bare it.

Then was the example of the shewbread, eaten by David, brought to the examination, and with a little ado moved to be waved. But before we concluded upon it, Mr. *Selden* made a motion, That, in our votes, when we come near an equality, the scribes should take account of how many negatives there be, and how many affirmatives:—which cost very large and very smart discussion, and in conclusion it was laid aside; and so we adjourned.

In the afternoon, as we were in the committee, there was given to each of us a book from the Scottish commissioners, touching their own government.

Thursday, Jan. 25.]—This morning the first thing done, was, that Dr. *Burgess*, the chairman, made a speech for the entertainment of the Lord Admiral the Earl of *Warwick*, who came in to us this morning, even before we sat; and when he had done, the Earl made a short speech in answer to him.

After this Mr. *Marshal* reported from the grand committee of Lords, Commons, and divines: and it was a paper brought in by the Scots' commissioners, containing something more concerning their government, which was to this purpose:—

Assemblies are fourfold:

1. Elderships of particular congregations, Matt. xviii. 17; 2. Classical presbyteries; 3. Provincial; and, 4. National assemblies; Matt. xviii. 17.

Elderships particular are warranted, 1. By Christ's institution, Matt. xviii. 17; 2. By common light of nature; 3. By unavoidable necessity.

Classical presbyteries warrantable; 1. By Christ's institution, Matt. xviii. 17. 2. By the example of apostolic churches; as Acts ii. 41, iv. 4, v. xiv. vi. 2. 7, viii. 1, xi. 22, xxi. 18. 25, &c. instancing in the church of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Ephesus, Corinth, Rome, &c. Acts xiii. 1, xv. 13, xix. 17—20, 1 Cor. xvi. 8, Acts xx. 25. 28. 36, 37, Rev. ii. 12, Rom. xvi. Acts xix. 10, 1 Cor. iii. 4, iv. 15, xiv. 29. 31, 32.

Then Dr. *Stanton* moved, that public thanks might be given to the commissioners when they came in, for the books

they gave us yesterday: but it was declined, because some had not yet received the books.

Mr. *Marshal* also moved, that this paper, brought in by them, might be recommended to the committee that hath to treat concerning the presbytery, to examine and weigh it:—which the Independents something opposed, and so also did Mr. *Selden:* and this cost some large debate: but the matter was left at large.

Dr. *Stanton* also renewed his motion for thanks to the Scots: but before it came to be resolved, the commissioners themselves came in; and so the matter was hushed, and nothing more said of it.

Then fell we upon the second proposition, brought in by the committee for ordination: viz.

"It is lawful, and according to the word, that certain ministers of the city be desired to ordain some ministers in the vicinity," &c. And upon motion the word "London" was added to the first clause,—"that certain ministers of the city of London," &c. and the latter part thus enlarged also,—"to ordain some ministers in the city and vicinity," &c.

Then Mr. *Vines,* being chairman of the committee that brought in the proposition, explained it and laid it open.

And Mr. *Marshal* divided the proposition into these two questions, and handled and proved them: 1. Whether our case now is extraordinary? Ans. yes: because now we have neither prelacy, presbytery, classical nor particular; which are the common means and instruments of ordination. 2. Whether this may be done which is now propounded to be done? Ans. Yes: for even Independent congregations will call in another minister to preach, when their own is sick: so the like in this.

Mr. *Nye* fell quaintly upon the proposition, and found many scruples in it; and Mr. *Carter* after him, that first we might conclude what is ordination: but this was not hearkened to.

Mr. *Seaman:* The ministers of the city have intrinsical power to ordain, "virtute officii;" for the Assembly hath voted it. And that they may lawfully ordain for all the city, he proved out of Acts xx. 28, by the elders of Ephesus having power over the whole town.

Mr. *Bridges* found four things in the proposition:

1. In extraordinary cases, some extraordinary things may be done. 2. What extraordinary things may be done. 3. Whether our case be extraordinary. 4. Whether this be a proper salve.

Mr. *Herle* proved the case not to be extraordinary. 1. In regard of use; for it hath been so heretofore. 2. Not in regard of the rule; for the parties that have to do it, have intrinsical power.

Mr. *Marshal* answered him.

Mr. *Nye:* Though jurisdiction of bishops be taken away, yet is not their order; for they are presbyters still, and so may ordain; and thus we have not such an extraordinary case.

Mr. *Marshal* answered him very well,—That if the bishop ordain only as a presbyter, that then the course we are going, is not to be so cavilled against.

Mr. *Palmer:* That there is a necessity, he proved by the outcry of the parties that want, and by the order of the Lords that set us on this scrutiny.

Mr. *Selden:* By the laws of England none can ordain but only a bishop, with some presbyters. In Edward VI.'s time an act did so enable them: being repealed in Queen Mary's time, in the 1st. 8th. and 13th. of Queen Elizabeth it was revived again: and this law is neither against the law of God, nor nulled yet in our state. And whereas our covenant swears out the "regimen ecclesiæ," this that we have in hand is not "regimen ecclesiæ," and we have sworn to preserve the laws of the kingdom, of which this is one.

This speech of his cost a great deal of debate, and had many answers given it: and among other things Mr. *Henderson,* and the Lord *Mackland* after him, took it to heart, and expressed their resenting of it, that there had been too much boldness with the covenant: but Mr. *Selden* being gone, and the day being far spent, it was referred to be considered on in the morning: and so we adjourned.

Myself, and seven or eight more of the Assembly, went and dined with the Scots' commissioners at the Bridge foot; having invited them thither about two or three days before.

Friday, Jan. 26.]—This morning the first thing done was, that Dr. *Stanton* renewed his motion that thanks might be given, in the name of the Assembly, to the Scots' commis-

sioners for the books they had given to every one of us: and it was ordered accordingly.

Then fell we upon the work of the day. We had voted yesterday, that there is an extraordinary necessity now for ordination: and now we fell upon this proposition: "It is lawful, and according to the word of God, that some ministers in London be desired," &c.

Mr. *Nye* first began to except at, and first found this proposition in it,—Ordination is necessary in a case extraordinary, as this is; the truth of which he questioned.

2. The way prescribed so deviating from the ordinary rule, yet must be warranted by the word: for, 1. It is simply sinful to take up any thing not warranted in the word. 2. When men in necessity have swerved, they have been punished. 3. When there hath been such necessity and deviation, there hath been Scripture quoted for it.

3. The course prescribed is an extraordinary course.

4. That it is a course that comes as near the word of God as may be: and this implies, that, 1. There is an ordinary rule. 2. That this is known: but there is not an ordinary rule in our case. And being touched upon by Mr. *Seaman* in some particular, he again openly professed that ordination is not essential to a minister; but a minister may be a minister to all points without ordination.

Mr. *Marshal* answered him to this, that we have no rule: Answer, 1. That there is an ordinary rule for it, is a concession. 2. This rule, by assent of all, is either by a hierarchical way, or by a classical presbytery, or by a particular presbytery. Now this course propounded, is neither any of these, nor is it unagreeable to any of these.

Mr. *Vines* also answered him. 1. That deviations in Scripture, though necessary, have been punished. Answer, True, when the "substratum" was in itself sinful; as Uzziah's touching the ark. 2. That the rule is not known. Answer. Lay all the Scripture together, and it will be found that never was ordination by those that had no jurisdiction. Now London-ministers have no such: so it is extraordinary.

Mr. *Nye* answered them both again; and among other things, he held that one minister, singly and alone, may ordain: and concluded that "jus fraternitatis" cannot create a jurisdiction.

Mr. *Marshal* answered him again: and when he had

done, Dr. *Burgess*, in the name of the Assembly, gave thanks to the Scots' commissioners; and the Lord *Mackland* briefly and sweetly answered him.

Then Mr. *Henderson* spake his mind wherein and how the commissioners did resent the words that passed yesterday from Mr. *Selden*, that said we had only sworn against the bishops' jurisdiction, not ordination; and Mr. *Nye's* that had said, that bishops might yet ordain, though not as bishops, yet as presbyters.

Mr. *Ley* first spake, and excused himself for that he had dedicated some of his books to bishops with glorious titles: and disclaimed their ordination.

Dr. *Burgess* and Mr. *Marshal* also expressed their distaste of their ordination.

Mr. *Selden* also spake, but it was to justify his own interpretation; for that he knew not yet that "regimen ecclesiæ" did conclude ordination.

Mr. *Gillespie* answered, that to ordain officers can be nothing other than jurisdiction: and withal he raught Mr. *Nye*, who had professed that he held ordination to be a power of order and not of jurisdiction.

Mr. *Palmer* also expressed that the covenant excludes ordination. 1. Because it is a part of their government, and the only part of government that is now left them. 2. Prelacy, in the common interpretation, imports ordination.

Mr. *Nye* answered for himself, and persisted still in his opinion, that ordination is in the power of order.

And then we fill upon our work again: and Mr. *Herle* queried, 1. Whether the rule we are to come near, be one. 2. Whether this rule will admit of any latitude: but yet he disagreed from Mr. *Nye*, and held ordination to be necessary.

Whilst he was in his discourse, there was delivered to every one of us [*]

Mr. *Seaman* urged, that our present debate might be reduced to this question, "Every minister, 'quâ talis,' is morally enabled to make one in ordaining."

Mr. *Burroughs* opposed it with this syllogism, To do without an institution which is only warranted to do by an institution, is unlawful; but to do this in hand is so; *ergo*.

Mr. *Ley* denied the minor: Mr. *Burroughs* answered it:

that the ministers of London are neither apostles, evangelists, nor presbyters; so may not ordain.

Mr. *Ley* answered, That the ministers of London being set upon this work is a presbytery.

At this passage the Lord *Howard* of Este [Esc?] came in, and, from the Lords, desired that the Assembly would sit to-morrow: which was voted accordingly.

Mr. *Seaman* answered to the argument of Mr. *Burroughs*, that materially and substantially there is a presbytery in London.

These canvassings held a very long debate: at last we called to adjourn till to-morrow, and then it was proposed that this might be brought to the question: "Ministers, quâ ministers, have capacity to ordain:" which being gainsaid by the Independents, Mr. *Salloway*, the Parliament-man, put it forward that we might do something to-day, for that the House of Commons have made an order to hasten us: but this cost some small debate before it was concluded; at last it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, "nemine contradicente," "that preaching presbyters of London may ordain." Then was it moved, that this might be put to the question, "The preaching presbyters of London may ordain:" This the Independents did mightily deny also: so that it was thought fit to refer this business to-morrow.

Then Dr. *Temple* brought in a case concerning a Frenchman who hath been some years in England, who holds most dangerous things concerning Christ: which was referred to private consideration: because we have not power to meddle in things of this nature, as yet derived to us: and so we adjourned.

Saturday, Jan. 27.]—This morning we fell upon our work where we left yesterday: viz. "Whether London-ministers may ordain."

Then Independents began to cavil at it, and found I know not how many scruples in it. Before we fell into our work, Mr. *Ley* published a letter from the committee of Kent, and the other associated counties, that desireth the Assembly to examine and return our judgment concerning one Mr. *Hamilton*, and his fitness to be a chaplain to the regiment raised in Kent: but this was laid by, and referred to private

discussion of Mr. *Ley* with the Scots' commissioners, who recommended the man.

Then fell we upon our work: and it was some business to state our question; and Mr. *Herle* would have these four things concluded in order: 1. That it is lawful. 2. According to the word. 3. That then the London-ministers are to be desired to do it: and, 4. To do it "jure fraternitatis."

Dr. *Temple* moved, That since we have concluded that ministers may ordain, it might be debated whether the civil magistrate may not set their capacity a work: but this was waved.

The Independents did still intricate the stating of the question: which held us long discourse, "pro et contra:" which while we were in doing, the Earls of *Pembroke* and of *Salisbury* came in: but at the first said nothing, but our debates continued still.

Mr. *Selden* proposed, that this might be the question, Whether it be now convenient that some ministers in London be authorized to ordain.

Mr. *Goodwin* would have us to go no farther than our instances in the former propositions did reach: as the Levites did only slay, but not offer the sacrifice: and so in the passover, those that were clean in the first month, had forborne it, that the solemnity of the second month might be the more: and therefore he proposed the question thus: Whether a deacon may not more properly ordain in his own congregation, than a minister in another: for though a minister may preach as minister in another congregation, which is a privilege, yet may he not ordain, which is a jurisdiction; and therefore seeing it is jurisdiction, it is a contradiction to speak of "jure fraternitatis."

Mr. *Seaman* answered him largely, and stated the question thus: Whether a minister, as a minister, may not exercise his office in any church of Christ: and this he proved by example of the dimissory letters of the bishops, and Ignatius writing to the Philadelphians to choose a bishop for Antioch.

Mr. *Herle* answered him, and would prove that jurisdiction and "jure fraternitatis" are contradictory.

Mr. *Young* shewed how jurisdiction is a term of a later hatch; for that antiquity divided the minister's office into

διδασκαλία and προστασία: and that certainly ordination falls under the latter.

Now my Lord of *Pembroke* very urgently desired us to hasten, and to come close to the question.

Mr. *Gillespie*, therefore, desired that for avoiding of debates, That "jure fraternitatis" might be left out; and that the Assembly should present to the Houses this counsel; that they would send to the divines in London to meet together and agree among themselves, to set out some company that should ordain. This pinched the Independents, as coming too near a presbytery, which Mr. *Nye* soon expressed.

At this time Mr. *Reynolds* the parliament-man, that was so lately made a member of our Assembly, took the protestation.

Then Mr. *Gillespie* answered Mr. *Nye*, and moved, that it might be ordered that freedom of debate of the presbytery might still be reserved.

Mr. *Vines* moved, that the Independents would propose their way for the supply of the present necessity: which was well liked of; but they were also told, the way must be by ordination, or else we answer not the order.

The Earl of *Pembroke* here again urged us to haste: for that the church and kingdom are on fire; and let it not be burnt down, before we apply some remedy.

Yet did Mr. *Nye* again interpose, and again; and so again did my Lord of *Pembroke*, and called to the question: and then Mr. *Bridges* again interposed; and called for a place of Scripture to prove the proposition. Dr. *Burgess* gave 1 Tim. iv. and Acts iii. 1. Then Mr. *Burroughs* interposed his part, and repeated the argument he proposed yesterday.

Then my Lord *Wharton* from the Lords reported,

That one *Ogle*, a prisoner in Winchester-house, once a commander, was described, some eight months since, to hold correspondence with Sir *Nicholas Crispe;* and since his commitment he sent a long letter to the Lord of *Bristol:* among other things, that he hoped a great party that stick to the parliament, might be brought to the king, if the moderate Protestant and fiery Independent could be brought to withstand the Presbyterian; and some propositions to this purpose: 1. That innovating bishops be removed, and new ones chosen. 2. That visitors be chosen to settle things

till a synod may be chosen. 3. That all that have suffered by the bishops, shall be righted. 4. That all accused by the Long Parliament, be either legally tried or pardoned: and some other to such like purpose. Which being read, my Lord *Wharton* related the progress and issue of the whole business: among which were produced two letters from the Earl of *Bristol*, which drives on the business of fetching in the Independents; and a letter also to Lieut. Colonel *Moseley* from the king, for the delivery up of Aylesbury, dated Jan. 12. and articles also feignedly signed by *Moseley* for the surrender of the town: and another letter from the king for the surrender of Windsor castle, dated the same day: and a third letter from the Earl of *Bristol* for the forwarding of the surrender of Aylesbury.

The relation of my Lord *Wharton* was very long: which being done, Dr. *Burgess* being now prolocutor, returned thanks to him and to the Lords, and made a very long speech. When he had done, Mr. *Nye*, who was used with Mr. *Goodwin* of Coleman-street, the Lord *Wharton*, the Lord-general, and others, to carry on the design in hand, for the more detection, made a speech also to express himself in the undertaking of the business: which when he had done, we adjourned.

Monday, Jan. 29.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer; while it was in doing, the Lord-admiral came in. Being set, we fell upon our business about the London ministers ordaining: and Mr. *Young* first spake to it, and out of some councils would prove the power of presbyters to ordain: but desired that the word "authorized" might be left out.

Now my Lord-general came in.

Mr. *Herle* put this quære, Whether the ministers of London not yet formed into a classical or congregational presbytery, may ordain.

Mr. *Palmer* proposed, that those that deny they may, should prove they may not.

Mr. *Goodwin* said, the thing in hand was a point of conscience; and, *ergo*, needed to be laid down very clear.

Mr. *Seaman* urged that Mr. *Goodwin* himself should state it. Now my Lord of *Pembroke* came in.

My Lord *Say* now spake, and feared that this might be held forth by us, that something may be done in the matters

of God which is not exactly according to the rule, but only to come near the rule: which will be of dangerous consequence: and that there is not a just ground that we go upon, viz. point of necessity: for, 1. There is no necessity to sin. 2. There is no such necessity. And that there might be this remedy, that many young scholars that are well gifted, might be sent to preach, but not to administer the sacraments: and that every one should not press, there might be a strict examination, and choice be had of those that go forth.

Mr. *Vines:* The apprehension of this necessity came first to us from the House of Lords: now "hoc posito," the committee fell to work. Whilst he was speaking, Sir *William Waller* came in: and Mr. *Vines'* conclusion was, That we go not beside the rule, but that we come short of it: and that to vary from an ordinary rule is not always sin.

My Lord *Say* answered, that he opposed not what was done by the House of Lords, but that he might apply us to the word. And said, that to take our examples from the Old Testament; as in the Shewbread, &c. where the actors of the things had the immediate warrant of the Spirit.

My Lord of *Pembroke* answered, That the Lords did not send this order that we should precipitate, but that we should hasten what we can according to the word of God.

Dr. *Burgess* answered the Lord *Say,* that one of the greatest complaints of the kingdom is for want of the sacraments; *ergo,* we are to send in men qualified for that purpose; and that in the New Testament we find men to have ordained not cast into a presbytery, as Acts xiii. 1. Objection. But this was by God's special command. Ans. So we find all the actions of the apostles, for the disposal of the church hath been so.

Mr. *Herle* pursued my Lord *Say's* speech, and answered Mr. *Vines,* that all things that are "infra, præter, or contra regulam," are sin. So our but coming short of the rule will not excuse us. While he was speaking, the Lord of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Howard* came in.

Mr. *Selden* moved, That our proposition should be taken into its proper pieces, that every one might know what to speak: and first to single out this question, Whether the ministers of London may be authorized to ordain.

Mr. *Seaman* answered my Lord *Say,* and that in Scrip-

ture there is a rule for ordinary cases, and a rule for bye cases, as Matt. xii. The priest profaning the sabbath according to the ordinary rule, and yet blameless, according to a particular rule: and moved that this might be the question, Whether the ministers of London be in a capacity to ordain?

Mr. *White*, now chairman, moved that the mention of the city of London might be omitted, because it is a political thing. Now the Earl of *Northumberland*, and of *Manchester*, and some other lords came in.

Mr. *Bridges:* Either the ministers of London are a presbytery or no; if they be, then are we to treat of the presbytery: if not, then to debate whether ministers out of a presbytery may ordain.

Mr. *Seaman* urged that the Independents might state the question: whereupon Mr. *Nye* having read the mind of them, contrived in a paper, to this purpose:

1. We conceive it doth really, and "de facto," set up the presbytery before discussed, as appeared by divers passages in the debate.

2. Ordination is of jurisdiction; and they that may do it, may excommunicate.

3. If any extraordinary thing is in it, and it must come as near as we can, it evidenceth presbytery to be the rule.

4. We cannot implead this, without the arguments, which we must use against the presbytery.

Mr. *Whittacre* desired, that for ending of this business it might be entered, That there may be a free debate hereafter of the presbytery.

Mr. *Calamy* said, That "jure fraternitatis" was put in, on purpose to avoid these jealousies; and desired it might be put to the question, Whether the proposition, brought in by the committee, should be debated: but this would not serve the turn.

Mr. *Goodwin* produced also a paper, in which he pretended to state the question thus:

1. That ordination and other like acts are ordinarily to be done by the ministers and elders of the congregation: but, 1. they must do it in their own congregation. 2. In a "consessus."

My Lord of *Pembroke* again urged for haste, and yet Mr. *Nye* still and still stopped us.

My Lord of *Pembroke* again urged, and said, "he doubted an 'ignis fatuus' had been among us since Saturday: for that then we were in a good way, and now far out of it:" and yet Mr. *Nye* interposed again.

Mr. *Gillespie* tendered these arguments to prove this act of the ministers not to be presbytery:

1. Because it is not done "ex pacto" of the ministers themselves: but by the appointment of the Houses.

2. There is no power of church-government put into their hands but this.

3. There are no elders joined with the ministers.

4. This may be added to the vote, that there shall be free debate left concerning the presbytery.

Mr. *Palmer* spake to the papers: that this their doing may be of ill consequence, to bring in "gravamina" where we are debating.

Mr. *Nye* again went about to answer Mr. *Gillespie;* and desired that the question might be laid, Whether the civil magistrate have power to set the ministers so to do.

Mr. *Gillespie* hereupon inferred, That it is apparent by this scruple that the presbyterial government giveth more to the magistrate than some others do.

Here grew some heat: for the Independents would not be stopped from speaking: at last Mr. *Seaman* moved, that we might fall upon the presbytery: and my Lord *Say* followed it; and this cost us a great debate again; and some heat amongst us; at last it was putting to the question, whether we should debate the proposition before us, but it was above an hour before we could determine; and then not neither. But Mr. *Goodwin* was desired that he would state the question: which, when he was drawing up, my Lord *Mackland,* upon the motion of Dr. *Burgess,* related the news of the Scots now being in the kingdom; that they marched in on that day that the public thanksgiving was at Christ Church, and that on Wednesday last were within seven miles of Alnwick: and withal he produced a declaration from the Scots, wherein they justify themselves in their coming in, in their intentions and call, and manner of pursuance of it: and after it was read, he related some more passages concerning their armies, and read a piece of a letter from the committee of the general assembly, congratulating the happy progress of our Assembly; and concluded with desire of our prayers

for them: and Dr. *Burgess* being now chairman, gave him thanks, and made a speech to him in the name of the Assembly.

Mr. *Goodwin,* this being done, brought his stating of the question in these two propositions: 1. Ministers may ordain, not being yet in presbytery. 2. They may ordain in churches not under their presbytery. But this gave not content. But Dr. *Burgess* proposed it thus, "Whether a company of presbyters, by the command of the parliament, may ordain." But this pleased not neither. Mr. *Palmer* added to Mr. *Goodwin's* stating these words, "In the necessity of the church;" but this took not neither.

At last it was put to the question, "Whether our proposition, as it lay, should be debated at our next meeting;"—and when the affirmative was given, then was there long and much interposition: but being at last agreed, it was carried affirmatively, and so we adjourned till Thursday.

Thursday, Feb. 1. *Friday, Feb.* 2.]—These two days was I absent; for I went down to Munden. But the work of Thursday, as I understood upon my return, was upon the business where we left, about the London ministers' ordination: which, at last, by the urgency of the Lord *Say,* was laid aside for the present, and they fell upon the proposition brought in by the committee, concerning many churches under one presbytery, which the Independents did most vehemently oppose the handling of; but it was voted to be fallen upon, upon Monday.

Monday, Feb. 5.]—This day I was also absent, and coming from Munden: but the work was, first, a long discussion concerning Mr. *Sympson,* the Antinomian, who, being checked by the lord-mayor for preaching in private houses, he was, on the Lord's day preceding, got to Paul's cross, and there preached to a great concourse of people. Divers of the Lords and Commons being present, they promised to take it into speedy consideration.

They fell upon this proposition, "That divers churches may be under one presbyterial government." And Mr. *Goodwin* brought in some argument to contradict it. For on Friday, when they resolved upon the debating of this proposition, they also resolved that the Independents which disliked it, should bring in what they had to say against it.

Tuesday, Feb. 6.] This morning we had a sermon by a

probationer, out of Rev. iii. 20, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock."

This morning, our work was to debate this proposition: "The Scripture holdeth forth that many particular congregations may be under one presbyterial government." But before we fell to work, Mr. *Rathbone* and Mr. *Good*, who were but a day or two since brought in into the assembly, took the covenant.

This being done, we fell upon our work;—and first upon Mr. *Goodwin's* arguments, which were mentioned before: which were to this purpose: "If many elders, put together, make one presbytery classical, then every one of those elders is to be reputed as an elder to every one of those churches. But the word of God doth not warrant any such thing." The minor he proved by many reasons—which were these:

1. The deacons are not to be officers to divers churches; *ergo*, not the pastor.

2. The pastor is not to preach in divers churches; *ergo*, not to rule.

3. The several congregations are not to give honour or maintenance to the pastor of another church.

4. One pastor was not chosen, ordained and maintained by divers churches; *ergo*, not to have power in them.

5. Several offices are not to meet in one and the same person.

Dr. Hoyle first began to speak to this proposition; but Mr. *Vines* after him, sought to overthrow the major proposition, or the consequences of it:—for "Quod convenit toti quâ toti, non convenit cuilibet parti:" now the presbytery is "totum aggregatum:" and so the churches, combined under this presbytery, go under the same notion of a "totum aggregatum."

The heads of the tribes governed the tribes:—now what did this make the head of the tribe of Reuben to be to the tribe of Manasses?—and so in the government of the universities, which is by the heads of colleges,—what is then the head of Trinity to St. John's [while he was saying this, the Earls of *Essex*, *Pembroke*, and *Salisbury*, and other lords came in]: and the presbytery is of the like nature: and the relation is between two totums; the totum governing and the totum governed. And, therefore, to argue a "toto ad partem" is no good argument: and he retorted this argument

upon the Independents' own principles, "If excommunication of a member, in one of their churches, be from the community, then what power hath Thomas over John?" And now, also, came in the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Manchester*, and others, and so many of both Houses that we wanted room.

Mr. *Marshal* first spake to the position that is before us, "That many particular congregations may be joined in one presbytery."

1. The whole Catholic church is but one body:—part of it is triumphant, part militant. The militant is an aggregation of all the members, be they who they will: and the members are not to act by themselves, as distinct persons, but all as joint members. Now to hold this unity Christ gave apostles, evangelists, &c., which though they had no dependance one upon another, yet acted by one Spirit:—they all laboured to gather members into this body;—and all that they converted, were baptized, not into this or that particular congregation, but, in general, into this body. 2. This body is cast into societies, which are called by divines "instituted churches."

Now for the nature and constitution of them. 1. When these wise master-builders had converted so many in any city or place as to make a congregation, they appointed them elders: and though they multiplied never so much in that city, yet was there but one church, though many congregations, as at Jerusalem; from one hundred and twenty they grew to eight thousand before they were of many months' standing, and then what were they increased in years, and yet are they called but one church: and yet could they not but have very many meeting-places. Now whether they fed these fixedly, or in circuit, the Scripture is silent. But to him it seemed, that the several pastors had their several charges: and he concluded at large, that our churches should follow this pattern, both in cities and in the country.

And then he began to answer Mr. *Goodwin's* arguments: and took up an exceeding great deal of time.

Mr. *Gillespie* moved, That first the major proposition might first be dispatched,—for the avoiding of confusion; and he consented to Mr. *Vines* in the confutation of the major:—and gave this example, The States-general govern the Low Countries, yet every commissioner hath not relation to another country:—and he added, that the power of go-

vernment in a presbytery is not power of order but of jurisdiction; and they govern not as "presbyteri," but as "presbyterium."

Mr. *Seaman* proved, that the inconveniences, alleged by Mr. *Goodwin*, will fall upon the civil government, as well as upon the presbyterial; and he proved that a minister may stand in relation to more congregations than one; and the deacon's office may reach as far as the pastor's; and that he may do the acts of his office in other congregations than his own: and so he retorted the argument upon him, if the deacon may act out of his own congregation, then may the pastor: and he proved that governing is feeding as well as preaching: and that the elders of Jerusalem did teach and preach to all churches indifferently, and exercise the act of their eldership as occasion required; Acts xv. and xvi. And that several offices may meet in one and the same person, as in Christ, the apostles, &c. And then he thus retorted his arguments: 1. If an elder may have relation to more congregations than one, then may a presbytery. But an elder may:—for every elder hath relation to the general visible church, 1 Cor. xii. 28; otherwise ordination should be multiplied according as elders change their places:—and baptism is into the general church visible. 2. He that hath divers assistants for number and kind, may govern more congregations than one:—but the presbytery hath so. 3. Every minister may do his part in a particular congregation, and yet do his part in the presbytery:—as an alderman may do all that is fit in his ward,—and yet do the work of the court of aldermen; and so may the people do also, either all moral duties or evangelical; both in their own congregation and in public: yea, they may maintain more teachers than one.

4. The people may have their full interest in a presbyterial government, in the call of their minister; as the people of the land have their full interest in choice of parliamentmen.

Mr. *Goodwin* first repeated his own argument, and laid open the force of it; viz. Presbyterial government is inconsistent with the duties, that elders are to shew and use towards their own people; and their people to them: and the Scripture doth speak indistinctly of their duties; and tells not what they are to do in their own, and what in the pres-

byterial assemblies: and he proved it from Acts xx. 25, where the apostle speaks plainly of pastors: now if one pastor in this city be fixed to one congregation, and another to another, how could they preach to all the flock?—Here he was taken off, for that he did but repeat what he had said yesterday: and Mr. *Vines* urged him to answer to his answer that he had given to his argument. And they two had a large dispute upon it.

Mr. *Henderson* took occasion upon something that had passed, to shew the disposal of the particular congregations' power, and the power of the presbytery: and so we were ready to adjourn, when my Lord of *Pembroke* desired that we might prepare something in information against Mr. *Sympson*, which was referred to those that could say any thing in it, who should bring it in against to-morrow morning.

Wednesday, Feb. 7.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

The Lords of *Pembroke, Essex*, and others, came in to us before we sat.

We began again where we left yesterday, upon Mr. *Goodwin's* argument. But because he himself was not here, we stayed till he came; and so fell upon the business concerning Mr. *Sympson's* preaching at Paul's cross: and some testimonies of men were produced concerning this: and in the meantime Mr. *Goodwin* came in, and so we fell upon his proposition or major first: and first Mr. *Goodwin* began to confirm it. It was this: "If many churches come under one presbytery, then every elder of that presbytery stands as an elder of every particular congregation."

First he cleared what was replied by Mr. *Vines* and Mr. *Gillespie*.

1. For "Quod convenit toti," &c. he yielded it, for the whole is a presbytery; but every member of it is not a presbytery.

2. Elders aggregate will relate to every part, and for his example, about elders of the tribes, he said, "The elders in particular, as of Benjamin, had determination of lesser things; now all these put together had things of another nature, as things which the other never meddled withal: and some other answers he gave to the other: and then began to confirm and propose, that "Those that are a pres-

bytery to all the people of these churches as one church, they must bear the relation of elders to this church as one church; but, &c. *ergo*."

The major he proved thus, That church must either have these elders, or they have no elders. 2. The Scripture calls them a presbytery, as in relation to such a people; and calls them elders, as in relation to them. Luke xxii. 66, *τὸ Πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ λαοῦ*.

3. Our Scripture would have us honour them and look on them, as elders, in ruling most and best. So in a presbytery where they rule most and best, they are to be looked on as elders.

Mr. *Burroughs* added, to the maxim, "Quod convenit toti," &c. That the same maxim would be against a presbytery in a particular congregation, and gave these arguments.

1. The Scripture commits the care of churches to the elders in the presbytery.

2. The elders in a presbytery are to preach and administer sacraments to the whole church they govern. So they are elders of the whole church.

Mr. *Carter*, junior, also spake to the business, and to the logical maxim, "Quod convenit," &c. and would prove Mr. *Vines* and Mr. *Marshal* to have confuted one another. And he argued, those elders that are in a presbytery, govern a church of which they are no elders; which is not according to Scripture.

Mr. *Vines* answered them all; and granted that the presbyters in a presbytery are "presbyteri aggregati," and that the "presbyteri" of a "presbyterium," are not to be considered singly, because he can act nothing as a single elder, neither ordain, excommunicate, &c.

And consider him in a presbytery, he relates to all the churches under it, as a member or part of that "totum aggregatum," that governs the whole. And he concluded, that the coalition of many congregations into one presbytery, does not make one congregation to become another; so neither doth it make the elder of one to become the elder of another.

Mr. *Gillespie*, also answered, and gave this brief censure concerning all the argument, that they do all either "petere principium," or "non concludere negatum."

Mr. *Seaman*: As every particular Christian hath relation

to the whole church catholic, yet is he not to do every office belonging to the whole church: so is it with these elders.

Mr. *Herle:* The "fundamentum" of the relation spoken of, is, 1. The "assensus" of all the congregations to send their elders. 2. The mission. 3. The union in this presbytery: which is the "formalis ratio" of the whole.

Mr. *Marshal* spake also to this at large, and so did divers others; and our debates held out very long; at last it was called to be put to the question, "Whether this proposition, or major, of Mr. *Goodwin's*, have not been sufficiently debated;" and it was voted affirmatively: and so we adjourned.

This day, Mr. *Strickland* came into the Assembly.

Thursday, Feb. 8.]—We began this day upon where we left: and Mr. *Burroughs* first moved, That the proposition of Mr. *Goodwin* might thus be uttered: "If the presbytery of a classical church stand in relation to that classical church as elders; and there be much incongruity in it, then it ought not to be. But, &c. *ergo.*"

Dr. *Hoyle* first answered him, by denying the major. Then Dr. *Young*, and *Vines*, and others, desired the major to be more clearly expressed: and this cost some time: and it was concluded by most, that the proposition was the same that was denied yesterday.

Then he proved the business thus: Those to whom the care of the church is committed, they are elders of the church; but to the presbytery classical the care of the church is committed.

Mr. *Palmer* denied the syllogism as having four terms: —for that the major considereth an elder in one reference, and the minor in another. But it was desired that Mr. *Burroughs* should shew the incongruities; which he did thus:—If the Scripture requires that the elders of a presbytery in ruling, should do all the work in the presence of the church; and that they cannot do in a classical church, then there is a congruity. But, &c. *ergo.*

Mr. *Marshal* answered, That if "before the church" mean "before all the people," then the minor is denied; if "before the presbyterial church," then the consequence is denied.

Mr. *Nye* denied the phrase "presbyterial church."

Mr. *Seaman* cleared the meaning, that all courts are kept

"coram," that is, before all those that will come to it: and if he mean thus, the presbytery doth the like;—but if he mean, that all the people must be there and must vote, then that is denied.

Mr. *Rutherford,* out of Ainsworth, alleged, that all the people were obliged to be present, when excommunication was exercised; but this he himself denied and confuted.

It was called on Mr. *Burroughs* to prove the minor, which he did thus:—the only Scripture example for ordering church-censures should be kept. But the Scripture holds forth, that censures should be in the presence of the church; *ergo.* The minor he proved from 1 Cor. v. 4, "When ye are gathered together," &c.

Mr. *Seaman* answered, That the people are here said to excommunicate, as, in Deut. xiii. every one is bidden to kill the idolater, that findeth him; i. e. to use means to bring him to execution.

Mr. *Marshal* said, The apostle here speaks roundly; but gives every one their due that concerns them.

I answered, that the *σύναξις* here, is in regard that there were heart-burnings among them, and so they triumphed one against another in the very act of the incestuous. So that they should convene in affection and in place:—and being so met they should do it.

Mr. *Goodwin* would prove, that this excommunication was not in presbytery: for then was the man twice excommunicated; and he presented these inconveniencies:—

1. That it is brought from the perfect church, to the imperfect, to excommunicate.

2. Excommunication will be done in absence; and concluded that Paul did only advise.

Mr. *Gattaker* answered, that *κέκριμα* inferreth more.

Mr. *Vines:* The presbytery here doth it "coram populo;" and that he confirmed by ordination, which is, "per manus presbyterii;" and yet "coram populo."

Mr. *Gillespie* desired, that such premeditated arguments as these should be published a day before they are debated, and then he answered the arguments proposed: viz. That it cannot be proved, that all the people of Corinth were present at this business. For, 1. It is a question whether *συναχθέντων* mean the presbytery or the people. 2. Whether "traditio istius," be now "actus imperatus," or "illigatus;'

and, 3. This censure was inflicted, ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων, not ὑπὸ πάντων, 2 Cor. ii. 6.

Sir *Archibald Johnston* gave this example, that a murderer in Scotland is by law to be executed between sun and sun in an open market-place, "coram populo;" yet this tieth not the people to any interest in his execution, nor tieth *him* so to be present:—and so is it with this case.

Mr. *Henderson* also shewed the manner of their proceedings in censures in Scotland.

Mr. *Goodwin* undertook to answer Mr. *Gillespie*:—1. That by the word συναχθέντων, it appears there were no more than could meet in one place. 2. The apostle all the way speaks of the people. 3. The ὑπὸ πλειόνων, may be translated "by the many." 4. This was but an admonition, not excommunication. 5. By "the many" may mean the people themselves.

Mr. *Gillespie* replied to him again, that, in this fifth chapter, the apostle is to be understood, as in other places, giving to every one their due interest:—to the presbytery, what was due to it; and to the people, what to them.

Mr. *Burroughs:* This is the only example to guide elders; so it must be followed.

Mr. *Walker* desired that we may not go altogether to dispute against this truth, but that there might be some confirmations given in for the truth.

Then was it moved by Dr. *Burgess*, that it might be put to the question, "Whether this argument have been canvassed enough," but this was not thought fit:—but to be left to a farther discussion.

For a close of all, I moved, "That since our prolocutor hath been so long absent, we might send to see him as from the Assembly;" and Dr. *Stanton* and myself were appointed for that purpose.

Friday, Feb. 9.]—Being set, Dr. *Stanton* reported, that we had been with the prolocutor; and that he returned hearty thanks to the Assembly, and hopeth to be with us here on Monday.

Then began we upon our work, where we left; about the presence of the church at all censures, and 1 Cor. v. 4. And Dr. *Burgess* first desired to know, what the Independents mean by "the church;" for they deny deputed and representative congregations.

Mr. *Burroughs* answered, they mean, that that church must be present, of which the elders in the presbytery are elders.

Dr. *Burgess* replied again, that he was not satisfied as yet what they meant; and Mr. *Burroughs* answered more fully to explain it.

The doctor and he changed divers passages about this.

Then Dr. *Gouge* spake to the text of Scripture, 1 Cor. v. 4; and desired we might come to it; but Dr. *Burgess* was not yet satisfied; and it cost some large discourse to resolve or satisfy him.

At last we were got to the text; and Mr. *Herle* would prove, that this was not an example, but a regulation. But withal that this was in a presbytery.

Mr. *Rutherford:* Though this excommunication were "coram populo," and though excommunication be to be "coram populo," yet not all other censures.

Mr. *Bridges,* out of Calvin, would prove that the excommunication of this incestuous one was by the whole people, and so out of Peter Martyr, and would have produced more; but that was cried against. And Mr. *Henderson* said, that if they begin to heap up authors, let us do so too, and we shall outvie them.

Mr. *Vines* granted *συναχθέντων,* in the sense the Independents do, for "gathering together." But he denied, 1. That the argument holds from a congregation to a classis. 2. That this presbyterial act was "coram." And he doubted whether the incestuous person were excommunicated withal: that here is not the whole process of excommunication; for that Paul saith *τὸν τοιοῦτον,* as only giving a pattern what to do in such cases. And there are some parts of a process may be done in a single congregation, and not "coram toto populo:" and that whereas Paul bids Timothy reprove an elder *ἐνώπιον πάντων,* and yet meaneth not before every one of all the congregation: and he gave this instance, Titus had jurisdiction in all Crete, and the Sanhedrim in all Judea; and yet might either the one or the other act, without the presence of the whole country.

Mr. *Burroughs* answered to him, 1. That it is not necessary that every preparatory act towards a censure, should be "coram ecclesia," but only the main exercise. 2. That Titus was an officer in every particular congregation, and so

are not the elders in the presbytery. 3. As for the national church of the Jews, that was an institution, but a presbyterial church is not.

The Lord *Warriston:* "If it will be granted that the presbytery may prepare not 'coram ecclesia,' then may it do the other acts of censure." And he spake very largely.

Mr. *Nye* desired to know, whether excommunication be not an individual act; and where to lodge it: whether in the classes or congregation; and what the nature of excommunication is, whether cutting off only from the whole classical assembly, or particular congregation.

Mr. *Marshal* called to our work in hand; viz. that we are upon 1 Cor. v.

Mr. *Vines:* A presbyterial classis is an eldership to all the churches in the classis: not that they are not to act but in the presence of all the churches, but that it may act in any of them.

Mr. *Goodwin* also answered Mr. *Vines'* reasons: 1. That the case between Titus and a presbytery are not of the same nature; for that the churches in Crete were distinct and many churches: but the presbytery makes all the churches one. 2. And that Timothy was necessarily to admonish before all; because an admonition is of the nature of a sermon, that is, for the benefit of none that hear it not. 3. The Lord hath not made the like institution to the Sanhedrim in the Christian church; for to the Jews there was a representative government, because there was a representative worship; and the government was in the place of worship; but the presbytery is not the place of worship; and he gave this analogy: that as, in a particular congregation, the people must be present, so in the classical, should they be. But here he was taken off as not speaking to the argument in hand; wherefore he applied himself to answer them.

Mr. *Bridges* also went about the like.

Mr. *Seaman* argued thus: A Christian is a member of the church catholic; there must, *ergo,* be a convention local of all the members that one may act: and God set the apostles in the church with interest in them all, and yet must they not be tied to act only "coram omnibus." So the ordinances of God in the church are common to all the church; yet must there not be a general local convention for the use of them: and upon 1 Cor. v. he said, There is

one entire sentence from ver. 3. to 6; and this verse and συναχθέντων comes in by a parenthesis thus: since "you and my spirit agree," let such a one be cast out.

Here also I spake, that this case of the Corinthians was such as that cannot be amongst us, for they were hedged in with the heathen; and the apostle plainly tells that there was an iniquity among them above heathenish, ver. 1; *ergo*, if he would have the whole church to come together, and cast out this member for the vindication of the whole church, it was a singular example, and cannot be paralleled among us.

Dr. *Burgess* moved, for the avoiding of endless debate, that we might still draw up how far we agree, and that we might leave this course we have followed this week, of giving leave to them to object, but that we might fall upon the scripture produced by the committee to confirm the proposition.

Mr. *Gillespie:* There are some other scriptures both in the Old and New Testament, producible to the purpose in hand. As Acts xxi., Paul and the other apostles were determining before the multitude came together. Rev. ii. 23, "To you and to the rest of Thyatira." Lev. xix. 16, Ainsworth tells, that the Jews interpret it of the judges, that they should not tell tales of what was done in the Sanhedrim, and to this purpose he alleged the LXX in Prov. xi. 13, and xxvii. 26.

The πλείονες in 2 Cor. ii. did the work in hand; and πλείων signifieth one in dignity, as in Matt. πλείων Σολομῶντος.

Mr. *Sympson:* 1. 'Tis true that πλείονες joined with another word, signifieth so; but where doth it so alone? 2. It is no restrictive to a thing, but doth enlarge it.

Mr. *Vines* added, πλείονα θυσίαν, and ψυχὴ πλείων τῆς τροφῆς, and δούλους πλείονας.

Mr. *Burroughs* alleged Dr. *Fulke* for his side, and Aretius, and Jesuits themselves; but he was cried down; for that we are not to be swayed by commentators, but by the word of Scripture.

Mr. *Goodwin:* Excommunication is done in the particular congregation; *ergo*, not in a presbytery; for then there is a double excommunication: and there may be "excommunicatio absentis." It now grew late, and some called to put

something to the question: but the Independents thought the business was not yet ripe, and that the question was not sufficiently debated.

Mr. *Palmer*, for a close, offered these notions upon the argument and text:—1. This example can no more tie to what the Independents would have, than the examples in Scripture of receiving the Lord's Supper, doth tie it only to males. This *συναχθέντων* may mean their meeting in the service of God, and doing the execution of this business after the sentence of the presbytery.

Then did Mr. *Nye* begin to take exceptions and cavils at some words of Dr. *Burgess* and others, which bred some heat.

At last it was ready for the question, "Whether the argument have been sufficiently answered or no;" when the Independents did mightily oppose it: but at last it was put to the question, and voted that the argument hath not been proved.

Then was there another great and hot debate, "Whether we should let the Independents go on in objecting against the proposition brought in by the committee, or go about to prove and confirm;" which being at last put to the question, it was voted, the Independents should go on in their objections; and so we adjourned.

Monday, Feb. 12.] This morning we fell upon where we left on Friday, and Dr. *Gouge* first moved that our argument might be propounded in a syllogism.

Mr. *Burroughs* began to move that the proposition which he made the last week, might a little be rectified, and so we might proceed upon the very same argument; but this was not liked: and as for the Scripture, 1 Cor. v. 4, I said it had received so many answers, that it could not be fit to be a groundwork to lay so great a weight upon as the Independents would lay upon it.

Mr. *Goodwin* went about to prove this consequence, that if there be elders of a classical church, then that church must be present at the chief work of ruling, or, "exempli causa," at excommunication: and said, he would, from this granted principle, that the church hath an interest of presence at excommunication; for that the church of Scotland doth not excommunicate, but with the consent of the people: but this cost some words before it could be condescended to: at last he proceeded thus:—

These many churches under this presbyterial government are one church; and these elders are accounted a church, because censures are to be by none but the church.

Look, what interest the whole company of elders hath as elders, that the church must have as the church: and they excommunicate as much in the name of the church as of that church of which he is a member. Now if that eldership have a commensurate extension with the church, then the people must come in for their interest.

Then the eldership that excommunicate a man, have either relation to the church of which he is, or not: if so, then every one in that eldership hath equal interest. And, indeed, he went on so obscurely, that the Assembly called for more plainness, and a syllogism; this he did thus:—

If any one congregation have such an interest as to be present at excommunication, then every congregation in the presbytery hath the same interest, all the presbytery being considered as one church.

Mr. *Marshal* said, there were two questions, which he desired to be handled singly. 1. Whether there be any classical presbytery? 2. Whether all the churches in it ought to be present?

Mr. *Nye* did confess how nearly they came to us; as that they held classical and synodical meetings very useful and profitable; yet possibly agreeable to the institution of Christ. But the quære is in this, Whether these meetings have the same power that "ecclesia prima," or one single congregation has?

Mr. *Rutherford:* He that is excommunicate, it is fit that congregation should be present, because of his being immediately a member of that congregation; but not being so to other congregations, it is not requisite, therefore, that they should be present.

Mr. *Palmer:* A particular church may be considered integrally or representatively; now if the presence of the church be required the first way, then if any one be absent, then either the sentence must be suspended, or that he (the absent) must withdraw from the excommunicated by an implicit faith.

If the second way, this is against the Independents' own tenets, who deny a representative church.

Mr. *Goodwin* answered, that they hold not it integrally,

nor can that be: and he couched his meaning in this syllogism. If all the congregations have equal interest of presence, then all must be present. But, *ergo*.

Mr. *Seaman* answered, That none have proper interest in presence; but those that have interest in the jurisdictive power; and if the people must be present at the decree, then must they also at the examining of witnesses, which may not be granted or concerned; but when the decree is made, then that all the congregations should be acquainted with it, as most fit.

Mr. *Bridges:* But the presbyterian church cannot be present at the publication.

Mr. *Herle:* Every act of censure is not a mere ministerial act, but judiciary, and all that the people have to do in this, is, that after the thing is done, they may offer some thing to the presbytery, to see whether they will suspend or reverse the sentence.

Mr. *Seaman:* The decree and the act of excommunication are acts of power, and the people have nothing to do in it.

My Lord *Warriston:* The question is, whether the power be in promulgation: for promulgation is not "potestatis legislativæ."

In the reformed churches, the presbyter hath a certain meeting, place, and day: where, when any is called to be tried, any that will may be present, but only at examination of the witnesses: now when there is excommunication to be, there is admonition three sabbath days: the first day they tell not his name:—then do they desire the people to be present at the next presbytery day, to give or receive satisfaction to or from it.

Dr. *Hoyle*, out of 1 Cor. v. would find something against them, for there is a determining and doing: and he compared it with 1 Tim. i. ult. and out of Theodoret shewed that the incestuous person was one of the preachers of Corinth that they so much boasted on.

Mr. *Henderson:* It is most probable that the συναχθέντες had judiciary power, for it is said after, "we judge them that are without."

Mr. *Goodwin:* Whether what is done in the particular church be not in these words, We give up this man to Satan? then is it not only a promulgation. And he made

long discourses in answer to what had been said all morning.

Mr. *Rutherford:* The bringing of a man before the general assembly is more agreeable to the way of Christ, than by congregational churches: for the "excommunicati suis" are bound on earth, and not in one church. Now it is fitter the party excommunicated should be denounced so in his own congregation, than in another:—

1. Because he gave scandal first to that.

2. Because he should have defiled the ordinances there first.

Mr. *Gillespie* denied the major proposition of Mr. *Goodwin:* and the interest of all the congregations to be equal: for that "individuum," hath one relation to species "infima," and another to species "media." And he distinguished thus:—that in some things the interest of the eldership, and of all the congregation are commensurate, viz. in such things as concern them all, as in point of heresy, that hath infected all: but in those things that do not concern all the congregation, the interest is not commensurate: and in those things in which they have interest of presence, but not collectively, as they can with conveniency be present.

Mr. *Nye* could not find a clear resolution to this question, When is a man excommunicate? For that excommunication is an individual act: and the decree in the classes is but either resolving of a case of conscience, or a giving of a licence to particular congregations, to act that which Christ hath invested them withal.

Mr. *Rutherford:* A particular congregation hath not entire power to excommunicate, but only as the instruments or deputies of the presbytery, from whence they have their power.

Dr. *Burgess* here moved for adjourning, but Mr. *Goodwin* would answer all the answers that had been given; and he put this case:—Suppose the pastors and elders do deny to excommunicate this man, what will you do then? And suppose the presbytery will not have this man excommunicate, and the pastor and elders of his congregation think it is fit he be excommunicate, are not they bound in conscience to do it themselves?

My Lord *Warriston:* These scruples are of so rare occurrence, that such things have been never heard since the reformation in Scotland.

Mr. *Goodwin* replied upon him; and Mr. *Gillespie* answered him: and so they fell upon a dispute for a while.

Mr. *Vines* found the argument this day to be the same that was the last week; and called upon the opponents to prove that the presbytery hath not power to act in any one of the congregations belonging to it.

Here we stuck a long while, and went backward and forward; and very many and very large discourses passed "pro et contra."

Mr. *Whittacre* moved very seasonably, that we might leave these metaphysical terms, and fall upon Scripture; and that we might also draw up, wherein we agree:—yet fell we upon our disputes again; and Mr. *Goodwin* followed his arguing still, though there was much calling to the contrary: and Mr. *Selden* especially did largely follow Mr. *Whittacre's* motion. So it was called to the question, Whether this argument, given in this day, be sufficiently proved and maintained? Which being put to the question, it was voted, that it was not proved. And yet afterward, Mr. *Herle* moved that the question might be put, Whether this argument doth conclude against the proposition in question? Which being put accordingly, it was voted, that it did not.

Then Dr. *Burgess* shewed, that all our time this day hath been lost, since we have said nothing to the proposition.

Then fell we upon the question, "Whether the Independents should still go on with their objections against the proposition, or we go about to confirm it by Scripture?" which cost a very hot debate, and divers reasons were given against their going on so. As, 1. That it was contrary to an order of assembly. 2. That this kind of course will discourage all committees. 3. That this course is not the course to expedite our work, &c. Yet, it being put to the question, whether way should be taken, it was voted that the Independents should go on in their objections.

Tuesday, Feb. 13.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of Gen. iv. ult. אז הוחל taking it exactly according to our translation.

Being set, Dr. *Temple* reported from a committee, which was appointed to inquire concerning Mr. *Moulines*, who was recommended hither for the sequestration of St. Swithin, London-Stone: where some of the parish petitioned for Mr. *Moulines*, and others for Mr. *Cawdry*: which business cost

some debate; and Dr. *Temple* pleaded for Mr. *Moulines'* worth, but Mr. *Gattaker* shewed that he had been very nice and dangerous in some points of doctrine, and that he hath rejected his ordination;—and there was so much "pro et contra," that at last I brake it off in a good part, by telling, "It is past ten o'clock, and here are divers noble gentlemen come in, to hear other discourse than this:"—and just now came in my Lord-general, the Earls of *Pembroke, Salisbury*, &c.

Then fell we upon our work of the day: and Mr. *Goodwin* first began to reason out of 1 Cor. v.

If many congregations may be under one presbyterial government, then excommunication; and if excommunication must be before all the people, then cannot the presbyterial government do it, for all the people cannot be present.

1. In this, 1 Cor. v. is the only instance of excommunication, and answers Matt. xviii.: for in both places is mention of meeting together: and ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν in the one, and the ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν in the other: and "delivering to Satan" in the one, is "accounting a publican and heathen." Now that the gathering together here is not of the presbytery but of all the people, appears by 1 Cor. xi. 17. 20. 33, xiv. 23. 26.

2. In the second verse of this chapter, it is ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν, i. e. cut off from the congregation; and the word hath analogy to their gathering together.

3. In all the Epistle, when he speaks to elders, he speaks to them apart, as James v. ult. and in Coloss. "Say to Archippus."

4. Those whom he profeses to write to, those are they that must be gathered together to deliver this man to Satan,—and those whom he blames that it was not done: but it is not the elders only, but the church, to whom he writes and whom he blames.

5. He says, They should not eat with him,—that belongs not only to the people.

6. He bids purge out the leaven: now, that "many among them" belonged not only to the priests, but to all the people.

7. He speaks of leavening the "whole" lump.

8. Verse ult. "Put away from yourselves." Now if he were taken away from the whole church, the whole church had interest in his expulsion.

9. It belonged to the whole church to keep the feast.

10. 2 Cor. ii. 2. The many did join with Paul. Objec-

tion. He bids to judge; but this belongs not to the people. Ans. Yes, they judge "judicio discretionis;" for their judgment assists mainly in this,—in not eating with them.

Mr. *Gattaker* first spake to this, and shewed that nothing had been said now, which had not been debated before; and he gave this sense on Matt. xviii. 19, that it speaks not of excommunication; and if it do, it is two or three, and they make not a congregation: and that the places alleged in this Epistle about coming together are not συναχθέντων: and though (saith he) this were granted that he would have, yet are not examples binding rules: and grant this example were a binding rule, yet nothing is done in presbytery which may not be done according to this rule.

Mr. *Vines:* Granting, that all the people in the single congregation were present, if there were but one congregation in Corinth, yet doth it not hold for a current argument against the presbytery.

He granted that συναχθέντων signifieth, "gathering together;" but that granted, the argument lays all the power of excommunication in the community, which he hoped the arguer would not aver: and he spake very largely.

Mr. *Gillespie* answered also to his arguments. 1. That 1 Cor. xi. and xiv. the "gathering together," was in an act of worship; here it is in an act of discipline: and he proved out of 1 Chron. xiii. 1—4, 2 Chron. i. 2, 3, 1 Chron. xxix. that sometimes all the congregation are put for the elders.

2. That ἐκ μέσου is then συναχθέντων, for it contains the benefit of discipline; but this, the exercise.

3. He denied, that if the apostle meant the gathering together of the elders only, he would have expressed it.

4. About the purging out of leaven, he saith the case is different betwixt the Jews and this in hand; for that in them was an act of obedience, here an act of discipline: and out of Numb. v. 2. about the trial of leprosy, he shewed that neither all the people were to be present at the priest's judging of it, and much less to judge it themselves.

A thing may be done "conscia ecclesia," and yet not "coram ecclesia."

And then he proved, that all the people of the church of Corinth were not present; because they all had not the power of our Lord Jesus Christ to cast him out.

Mr. *Goodwin* answered all the answers that had been

given; and among other passages professed that in excommunication he thought the people had power but not authority; as in making up a marriage, the parents give their consent authoritative, but the child not so.

That Paul's spirit doth not mean any thing but his heart, mind, and consent. 1 Thess. v. Coloss. ii.

Mr. *Nye* would strive a middle way betwixt no interest and jurisdiction; and prove that those two notions of power and jurisdiction are separable: as administering of the sacraments are of authority, not of jurisdiction. So our debates here are of authority, but not of jurisdiction.

Mr. *Gillespie* desired to be resolved in this: How does excommunication concern the conscience of every congregation? if for the knowing how to avoid him, then must every singular man, woman, and child, be present.

Mr. *Herle.* 1. The apostle doth not direct his speech and epistle to every one: but to all as it concerns them.

By judgment is meant more than "discretionis."

Here I spake also; 1. That the phrase here used, *συναχθέντων*, differing from that cited in 1 Cor. xi. 14, doth cause to suspect that he means a difference in their meeting in the difference of word.

2. *ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν*, is used of all the courts taking away a wicked man, Deut. xiii. &c. yet all the people must not need to be present at the censure. 3. Paul writes indeed to all the church in Corinth, but every one must take out his lesson as it concerned him: as the king of Syria writes to the king of Israel to heal Naaman, whereas Elisha was to have and take his share in the letter as concerned him.

These our debates held till towards one or two o'clock, and then had we a debate what to fall upon to-morrow: and at last was concluded that the Independents should go on with their objections: and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, Feb. 14.]—The first thing done this morning was that Mr. *Coleman* reported from the first committee, concerning the presbytery; and brought these examples to confirm the proposition before us.

1. The church of Jerusalem. 2. The church of Corinth. 3. Of Ephesus. 4. Of Antioch. 1. Of Corinth: for that of Jerusalem is cleared in a former report, there were many particular congregations. 1. From the time of Paul's abode there; Acts xviii. 8—10. 2. From the divers meeting-places. Cen-

chrea; the house of Justus; Acts xviii. 7: of Chloe; 1 Cor. i. 11: churches in the plural number, 1 Cor. xiv. 34.

3. From the multitude of pastors, 1 Cor. i. 12, iv. 15, iii. 12.

2. These particular congregations were under one presbytery; 1 Cor. v. 1, 2 Cor. ii.

2. The church of Ephesus had many congregations, as may be gathered by Paul's continuance there; Acts xx. 31. 2. The special effect of it; Acts xix. 18—20.

1. Many of the believers. 2. The curious artists; as appears, 1. By value of their books. 2. By the "epiphonema," ver. 20. 3. The reason that Paul gives of his stay there, 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9.

2. The multitude of pastors; Acts xx. 17. 28. 36, 1. Elders. 2. You overseers. 3. All wept.

They were under one presbytery; Rev. ii. 1, 2: ἐκκλησία Ἐφεσίνη, and it exercised jurisdiction.

The church of Antioch had many congregations: 1. Multitude of believers; Acts xi. 21. 24. 26.

2. Multitudes of pastors and teachers; Acts xiii. 1, xv. 35.

And concluded with this argument: Where there were more believers than could meet in one place, and more pastors than could be for one congregation, then were more congregations than one; but it was so in these churches, *ergo*. And it was lawful in these to be under one presbyterial government: *ergo*, so now.

Then fell we upon the work of the day: and first Mr. *Goodwin* began to take away the answers given yesterday: and, 1. Put not the force or reason of the people's presence because of their consciences only, but because of the apostle's injunction, which doth as really give rule for excommunication as Christ's words, "Ite, baptizate," do for baptism; and that all were not to be present for judging, but for edification.

2. That the presbyterial government makes two sorts of churches: one, merely for discipline, the other for worship: and so they have different ends and different notions also, being considered as particular, and as combined.

3. Discipline doth not constitute a church, nor is it a note of a church: and that that is the church, doth not communicate in the discipline neither.

4. All ordinances work as present.

5. The people do not vote, but are to carry things in a tacit and obedient way, unless the conscience be unsatisfied: and that obligation that a father hath over his child in point of marriage, the same have the elders over the people; and the elders with the church, and before the church are to judge.

Mr. *Marshal* observed, that Mr. *Goodwin* drove here at the institution of the people's presence: against which he argued, 1. Institutions must be clear, but this is not. 2. Then will he hold that the people must judge by institutions, for the place makes as much, or more, for judging than for presence. 3. This place treats of "judicium jurisdictionis," for it speaks of a judging within which they might not exercise without. 4. And if all ordinances work only by presence, then must the people be present from beginning to the end.

My Lord *Warriston*, spake upon *συναχθέντων ὑμῶν*: the power of Jesus supposeth the judicatory: for how can the people be gathered in the power of Christ, unless they be invested with this judging power? and that they must discuss the process:—and he cited, Deut. xiii. which I had done yesterday.

2. *ὑμεῖς* can be stretched no farther than the congregation in which the party is, and in which is the danger and scandal: and this may very well be in a presbytery.

3. *συναχθέντων* may be understood of the gathering for the countenancing of the execution; as at Edinburgh, the execution of a murderer may be "conveniente populo."

The substance of excommunication in regard of jurisdiction, is "ex voto totius collegii," and is a presbyterial act, though done before the people.

Mr. *Seaman* deduced Mr. *Goodwin's* arguments to these three heads. 1. That all the congregation at Corinth was to be present at excommunication: now granting this, yet does it not infringe presbytery; for there may be other acts besides this in a presbytery.

2. That the Corinthians should thus meet "ex institutione;" and here he answered the arguments given by him yesterday; As, 1. That the places cited yesterday, 1 Cor. xi. 14, are not the same here; and in those places it is not proved that they met altogether in one place at one time.

2. ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν is out of your society; and doth not include locality but privilege. 3. The apostles sometimes direct their epistles to whole congregations, and name not the elders;—does not the epistle therefore intend the elders? 4. In Heb. x. the apostle bids forsake not τὴν συναγωγὴν, and yet must not all the Hebrews meet together in one place in one time:—and here he shewed out of Robinson, how the Brownists from hence would gather the power of the people.

3. That so it cannot be if there be a presbyterial government:—and this, said he, Mr. *Goodwin* hath proved never a whit.

Mr. *Selden* questioned whether this place have any thing to do with excommunication; and that συναχθέντων ὑμῶν, and τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος, must be joined together to this sense, "Seeing that you and my spirit are together;" or, it may bear this, "when my spirit and you shall come together;" or, "howsoever you have not been humbled as you ought, yet my spirit and you agreeing now at last:" and so Neh. iv. 8, συνήχθησαν is meant, and is of the same sense with "convenire," either in "loco," or "animo." And he cited Faber Stapulensis, that takes the word from συνάχθομαι, to mourn or grieve. *Ergo;* there being so many various interpretations, it is not fit to build upon.

This epistle is written to the church and to the saints, where the church signifieth the governing body of the church.

The Jews had two kinds of Sanhedrims; the great and the less;—and Num. xxxv. the congregation must judge the heedless murderer, which the Jews generally understand of קטנה כנסת and Lev. iv. 13; "If the whole congregation have sinned;"—the Jews constantly understand this of the great Sanhedrim: and so might the presbytery here, though ἐκκλησίας συναχθείσης had been the phrase.

About Jerusalem it was still called the church, not only under Judaism, but also under Christianity.

Ancient times indeed have called excommunication giving up to Satan, and our own kingdom hath called the excommunicated person, the devil's person; but for the first three hundred years, most of the fathers take this place for excommunication: and he also shewed that P. Molinos proves that it meaneth no such things.

He queried whether this were the incestuous one; be he that is mentioned to be excommunicated hereafter, which is called 'the evil person to be taken away,' in verse ult. where many copies have τὰ and not τὸν πονηρόν.

Mr. *Vines* shewed why there may be excommunication in this place: and first produced *Bilson,* that holds that excommunication is here meant: but that 'delivery to Satan' is not formally excommunication.

In ver. 2, ἐξαρθῇ, and ver. ult. ἐξαρεῖτε, import to one sense; and he answered Mr. *Selden* in his notions of συναχθέντων.

And then he proved excommunication in this chapter:— "Purge out the leaven," &c. and he held that it is meant under this phrase, "to give up to Satan:" for why should Paul call the Corinthians together, that he might do a miracle?

2. The end of delivering to Satan was the bringing down of his flesh.

3. Ver. 6. he speaks of the same thing.

Then answered he to Mr. *Goodwin:* "Purge you out," "Take you away," &c. relate to them that have authority. He desired also to have it proved, that Paul had nothing to do authoritatively in this excommunication; and if Paul had, then the presbytery may.

Mr. *Wilson* also would prove against Mr. *Selden,* that here was excommunication.

Mr. *Bridges,* confessed here was meant somewhat more than presence, yea, more than consent, and yet short of jurisdiction.

And thus he argued:—

1. The duty is to be as large as the offence; but, "the offence you have not mourned," was of more than the presbytery. *Ergo.*

2. "Purge out," "take away," &c. is more than consent; and it was of more than the presbytery.

3. There is something extraordinary enjoined to the church of Corinth; but consent is not extraordinary: *ergo.*

Now what do the people? it is that they do actually join with the presbyters, as the people do when they pray with the minister;—and the people in excommunication have "potestatem late sumptam."

And "judging" he understood of punishing; and he

alleged three things done by way of jurisdiction. 1. Ordination. 2. Decision of controversy; and, 3. Excommunication:—now the two first were done "præsente populo:" as Acts xiii. 1, and Titus in Crete, Acts xv.

Mr. *Herle* also answered Mr. *Goodwin*, that though the presbytery and particular congregations have several ends, yet the ends are subordinate: as there are three ends of the gospel;—1. Glory to God. 2. Good will to men. 3. Peace on earth.

All ordinances are not necessarily to be done in presence of all that are to be edified by them; as Deut. xvii. "All Israel shall hear and fear," &c.

Out of Antonio de Dominis he distinguished between "censura" and "pœna:" in "censura" the presbytery only do it: but in "pœna" the people are active in withdrawing from him. He denied the people to have consent, which Mr. *Bridges* supposed, for that a negative voice is "jus regale:" and so sins of omission are by divines reckoned in the higher degree, because they have more of the negative voice in them.

Now called we to adjourn; and now Dr. *Gouge* moved for a vote, and Mr. *Gattaker* for a new argument: and we were ready to adjourn, when Mr. *Goodwin* desired to speak, and was heard.

That the way presbyterial doth part the ends of the people's presence; in that it doth sever the acts: and he plainly averred that he conceived the people had a power, yet without authority.

All acts that are juridical, it is fit the people should be present at the one as well as another; for they are all ordinances, and they have all interest in them: but the preparatory acts it is not required that they should be at them at all; for that these are no part of the ordinance.

And he would prove that there was but one church in Corinth, because if there had been more, the apostle would have mentioned that congregation of which this incestuous person was a member: and he spake exceeding largely, in answer to the main that had been spoken.

Mr. *Marshal* moved that the old arguments might be laid down, and the new ones that he hath started; as that the preparatory acts belong not to the people, and that if

need be the people should be put to their votes,—should be taken up to-morrow.

Dr. *Burgess* renewed the motion, that we might so indulge the brethren here, that we might not seem cruel to our brethren abroad; and since the committee hath brought in to-day this 1 Cor. v. to confirm the proposition, that we might either come to a new argument, or fall upon the proof of the affirmative.

Mr. *Seaman* very roundly desired that the Independents would clearly give us their mind, for that they have been found not constant to themselves. And hereupon Mr. *Goodwin* spake at large. 1. That the people cannot excommunicate. 2. That the people, if need be, yet must have their vote. Hence Mr. *Marshal* and others inferred, that then, if the elders were out-voted, the excommunication should be stopped; and where then is the elders' power?

This cost us some debate: at last Dr. *Gouge* moved it might be put to the question, whether this argument have been sufficiently answered:—and it was ready so to be when Mr. *Philips* interposed, and would prove, out of Mr. *Gillespie*, that the power of the keys belongeth to every congregation collectively taken: and that excommunication is to be in the presence of the people, for the great import of the thing itself.

Mr. *Gillespie* answered, That he wronged the author of that book: for that that book doth plainly say, that excommunication doth apply, and only belong, to the officers.

Mr. *Palmer* professed, That he was yet to learn that an act of power and jurisdiction should be power, and yet not jurisdiction. He demanded, whether in case the major part of the people of Corinth had dissented, should this man have been excommunicate or no?

And how the people can obey an ordinance of God, when by a negative voice they can make it void?

At last the matter was putting to the question again, when Mr. *Palmer* gainsaid it, proposing that nothing might be voted till we had done all the matter of this nature: but it was carried contrary, and voted that this argument of theirs was not proved.

Then fell there out a long discourse concerning Mr. *Moulines* and Mr. *Cawdry*, which at last was put into the

hands of Dr. *Robert Harlow*, with desire that he would present the matter to the committee for plundered ministers, whereof he is a member: and so we adjourned.

Thursday, Feb. 15.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Mr. *Lea* published a petition from a town in Kent, against their minister, one Mr. *Jackson*, who is an Anabaptist, and preacheth against baptizing of children. And he read a letter written either by him or to him, concerning this point, with a great deal of bitterness, against Mr. *Wilson* of our Assembly, who hath had some disputes with them. This matter was referred to the committee of plundered ministers.

Then Mr. *Whittacre* also shewed a letter from the governor of the Isle of Ely, who desires some ministers for that isle, which cost some time of driving the matter forward: and so at last it was ordered that Mr. *Whittacre*, Mr. *Gower*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Ash*, Mr. *Hill*, and Mr. *Case*, should represent the business to the House of Commons.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, and Mr. *Coleman* began thus:

That which the Holy Ghost commands one particular congregation to exercise, and blames another congregation for not practising, that is the birthright, "ex instituto divino," of a particular congregation. But the government of the church is commanded by the Holy Ghost, &c. to a particular congregation, &c. *ergo*, not to be referred to a presbytery.

Mr. *Bathurst* answered, by denying the major. I also said, the major was fallacious, in that it wanted the word "only,"—for that it is like as if one should argue thus:—the inferior courts in Israel were commanded to exercise judicature; *ergo*, it was not lawful for the Sanhedrim.

Then we called upon Mr. *Coleman*, to shew the depth of his argument: which he did from 2 Thess. iii. 14, Rev. iii. Thyatira.

Mr. *Marshal* answered, 1. It must be proved that these were particular congregations. 2. Though they were at first, yet this doth not infringe their dilating into presbytery as they grew. Thus was his argument laid down; and Mr. *Goodwin* began thus:

Government hath relation to obedience and 'contra:' now in Scripture, where we find the point of highest obedience,

as admonition and excommunication, what is said there cannot belong to a presbytery of many churches: *ergo*, no such government; 2 Thess. iii. 14, Heb. xiii. 7. 17, 1 Thess. v. 12, 13.

The apostle sets himself here to exhort them to obedience. Now he commands obedience to elders upon these grounds. 1. Those that had spoken the word to them. 2. That watched for their souls. Now this must be understood "partitivè." Now an eldership doth not do these two things.

If the apostle had said, "Children, obey your parents that begat you:" now this being the ground, "they begat you,"—is to be taken respective; so when we bid men to pray for their benefactors, it is to be understood respective.

Mr. *Marshal* desired, that he would prove that their preaching to them, &c. be the only ground of their obedience.

Mr. *Nye:* Though this be not the only, yet is it the main and highest.

Mr. *Vines* granted that obedience is grounded on the office, and whole office, of the flock, and the presbytery doth watch and preach, &c. over the whole flock.

The first patriarchs, he supposed, might sit together to govern all the children begotten by them conjunctly.

Mr. *Herle:* A society of fathers have a greater interest of obedience.

Mr. *Goodwin:* In a fatherhood conjoined, there is a different ground of obedience than of begetting.

Mr. *Rutherford* proved this argument as strong against the presbytery in a particular congregation.

Mr. *Goodwin* urged this, that in a presbytery one is bound to obey him that never spake the word to them.

Mr. *Rutherford* again inferred, that then in particular congregations the ruling-elder is not to be obeyed, because he preacheth not to them.

Dr. *Smith.* He speaketh only of pastors. Πείθεσθε be persuaded by them. 2. ὑπέικετε be likened to them in their holy example.

Mr. *Marshal* denied their preaching is the foundation of ruling.

Mr. *Henderson* found that this argument is that which we had before, and which was so fully answered: and Dr. *Burgess* followed this detection, and so did Mr. *Vines:* and

laid this position, The ground of obedience is founded upon the office.

Mr. *Bathurst:* It doth not appear that the highest obedience is intended here.

Mr. *Palmer:* The classical presbytery do watch for the souls: as Rom. xiii. the civil magistrate doth.

Mr. *Bridges* could not see how the classical presbytery should watch.

Dr. *Temple:* If obedience be grounded upon the whole office, then how can it be to the ruling elder, who hath not the whole office?

Dr. *Smith:* Here is not the highest degree of obedience, for here is only πείθεσθαι, &c. but not ὑποτάσσεσθαι.

This argument, proposed at first, was judged by the most to be very weak, and yet it held us a long tug, and very many pro and contras passed, and the Independents did still remonstrate: at last it was put to the question, and voted that the argument was not proved, neither concludeth against the proposition in question. And then was it moved that we might fall upon the affirmative: but Mr. *Bridges* said he had an argument out of Matt. xviii. which is to be debated to-morrow: and so we adjourned.

Friday, Feb. 16.]—This morning we had a sermon by Mr. *Daniel Dyke.*

Being set, Mr. *Ley* reported the success, which was exceeding good, that the committee had, that was appointed to inform the House of Commons, of the business concerning the Anabaptist that was in mention before us yesterday morning.

When we should have fallen to our work, Mr. *Bridges,* who had undertaken to argue out of Matt. xviii. was not come; so that we could not fall to our work: so that there were divers motions and businesses treated of, concerning our order and proceeding;—at last came in Mr. *Bridges,* and so we fell to the work of the day.

Mr. *Bridges* argued thus:—

That government which is not according to the mind of God and his word revealed, is not to be admitted. But the government, in the proposition, is not according, &c. *ergo.*

The government according to the mind of God and his word revealed, is this:—

That every particular congregation consisting of elders

and brethren, should have entire and full power of jurisdiction within themselves, Matt. xviii. 15—17.

1. The church mentioned here, hath the power of the highest censure, neither is there any appeal from it.

2. That this is a particular congregation only, he proved;—supposing these things to be granted:—1. That the church here is a spiritual, not a civil court. 2. Because the censure spoken of is such in which the disciples had a hand. 3. "Tell the church," are "verba officii," not "beneficii."

2. This church here is not the Jewish but Christian church: for it cannot mean the Sanhedrim in its corrupt condition, nor in its integral condition, for "mitius nobiscum agit Christus."

3. By church is not meant any particular bishop: because it is said, "ye bind."

Then he argued:

Universal and national church is not here meant; because he speaks of two or three;—and for the proof of this he cited Cajetan. This is a rule for present and constant remedy against offences between brother and brother: but such churches cannot meet so to do. Nor can any presbytery be here meant; because ἐκκλησία is never so used in Scripture. In the Old Testament ordinarily it is taken for the congregation, as appeareth by the words "ecclesiastes" and "ecclesiasticæ."

"Ecclesiæ" is used forty-eight times in the New Testament; and is never used for a presbytery, but contradistinct to elders: else "to the angel of the church," &c. were hard sense.

2. The offended brother is not a part of the presbytery, but is a member of the [*].

3. The house of God and church of God, is made one, where all the ordinances are: but in the presbytery all the ordinances are not.

4. If the presbytery be the church's representative, then all power must originally be in the people: for it was first in the represented party, before it was in the representing.

5. From presbytery may be an appeal; otherwise there may be no appeal and renitency, if the presbytery do err. And that Christ means.

1. "Tell the church:" if to the classical presbytery, then,

either after it is told to the particular congregation:—then it is a step beyond Christ's commission: if before, then the "jus per saltum."

Obj. But the elders of the congregation are part of the presbyterial church. Answer:

The church of Cenchrea is called a church; and Acts xv. the church of Jerusalem in the height of their synod is called a church: and so the particular congregation is a church, when the presbytery sits: *ergo,* this congregation is first to be told.

2. Keys are given to every minister: now alone he cannot ordain; in conjunction he may: now particular congregations are a conjunction.

3. Every particular congregation hath word and sacraments, which are greater than ruling; *ergo,* the less.

There is no institution of appeal after excommunication, nor is it of the light of nature.

Obj. But a church offending must be censured as well as a single person.

Ans. 1. This is to set a power over a power.

2. This makes as heavy against presbytery, for a presbytery may offend; and so may rise to a general council to be punished.

He plainly held that synods might declare who is an enemy to the truth; but to excommunicate or censure him for that, belongs to particular congregations: and thus he went on very largely.

Mr. *Marshal* answered him; and granted that Christ intended not the church universal, national, provincial only, no more did he a single congregation only: but all as "res nata" did call for it.

The word "ecclesia," in the New Testament is used in six or seven senses. 1. A rout of people as at Ephesus. 2. An orderly meeting of judges to determine civil business, ibid. 3. It signifies all the body of Christ, visible and invisible. 4. All the visible. 5. A congregation mixedly all together. 6. For saints. 7. In the Old Testament the word 'congregation' doth most certainly signify not the body of the people, but the rulers: and so it is meant in this place, even by the judgment of Mr. *Parker.*

He answered his arguments particularly: that, 1. Every

member of the particular congregation is a member of a presbytery also, though differing in some respects. 2. Some have power given by Christ to exercise in the name of the whole, and for the good of the whole: and this representation is of no danger. As the eyes see for the whole body. 3. There need no talk of an appeal in this kind, be the sentence given by whom it will; for if "clave errante," then it is lawful and conscience not to obey; if "non errante," then it is sin. 4. A particular congregation may be so fraught with elders, and so remote from others, as that it may lawfully exercise censure: but it doth not hence follow that there are to be no more congregations joined. 5. What privileges soever a particular congregation hath, it hath them while the presbytery sitteth. 6. And the presbytery joining with them doth not infringe but strengthen them. 7. That our divines generally do make Acts xv. an institution for appeals: and he proved it at large by the light of nature, that there should be appeals upon unjust sentences.

Mr. *Vines:* If "ecclesia," in the New Testament, be never used for officers in the church, then not here:—and so he lays the power solely in the people.

"Ecclesia," here, is not a formed congregation, but a good many of the same profession of Christ. 1. There was now no formed congregations. 2. Ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, Justin renders *κατὰ τὸ κοινόν*· and so the ancient interpreters take it. 3. "Let him be to thee:" i. e. not excommunicate, for so he should have been to all. 4. "Ecclesia" cannot mean the community equally or solely, but it doth principally refer to the officers: and "Tell the church," is properly expressed for officers; as, "the parliament sent to the city." "Reverende procancellarie totaque universitas." John ix. 22. "They feared the Jews;" i. e. the Pharisees. John xii. 42. And thus he proved that "ecclesia" signifies officers only. 1. Here is binding and loosing, which is in the hands of officers only. 2. He changeth the number: "Tell the church" "what ye [*] been." 3. Here is a final sentence which rests in officers. The first time that "ecclesia" is used, is Matt. xvi. where it hath reference to the use of the keys, and this is the second. קהל and עדה in the Old Testament, are translated promiscuously *ἐκκλησία* and *συναγωγή*: now these often

do signify the officers only. Num. xxxv. 24, 25, compared with Deut. xxix. 12, Joshua xx. 4. 6, Psal. lxxxi. 2 Chron. i. 2; and he spake exceeding largely, in answering all his arguments. Mr. *Bridges* replied again, That "ecclesia" generally signifieth in the Old Testament, the whole society. And long and largely did hespeak concerning this, and in answer of what had been said against his arguments; which when he had done, it was called to adjourn; and so we did.

Monday, Feb. 19.]—This day I was absent, being upon my journey from Munden; but the work of the day, as I understood, was upon Matt. xviii. and Mr. *Goodwin* spake very largely upon it; and Mr. *Gattaker* very largely answered him; and Mr. *Vines* also, and some others, and so the day was taken up: only there came [*]

Tuesday, Feb. 20.]—This morning I was in the Assembly, and the first thing done was, that whereas yesterday there came intelligence from Hempstead in Hertfordshire, concerning one *Baldwin*, who preached there against baptizing of children, and against the covenant:—and the business having been recommended to the House of Lords, they sent to know whom we would commend to them to go and preach there on Thursday se'nnight, when the man had promised to be there again, and confirm his doctrine:—and there was some time spent before we could fix upon any for the purpose. Mr. *Vines*, Dr. *Burgess*, Mr. *Wilson*, and Mr. *Valentine* were in motion, and others; at last, it being put to the vote, Dr. *Burgess* was chosen for the man.

After which, Mr. *Palmer* reported from a committee chosen yesterday, to satisfy an order of the Lords, which was to hasten our business. His report was to this purpose:—1. To gain time, some in the morning, and sometime to sit in the afternoon; as to come at eight, and rise at twelve; and to sit Wednesday and Friday afternoon from two till five. 2. That all propositions be clearly stated. 3. None to answer any person; or to pursue any text of Scripture, brought in upon the by.

These cost a little debate, and Mr. *Nye* especially spake against our hastening: and some spake also in his mind, so that it held a long discourse: at last it being put to the question, it was voted negatively against coming at eight o'clock: and then we laid the rest by, and fell upon the

work of the day ; and Mr. *Calamy* first began to answer the arguments brought in yesterday, and first he named three interpretations of "ecclesia." 1. The episcopal holds it for "episcopus." 2. The Brownist, for the whole and single congregation. 3. The reformed churches, for the presbytery. 4. The Independents take it thus, "Tell the officers before the church;" which he confuted thus:—1. Because all the church by their own confession have nothing to do in excommunication. 2. Because, in the next verse, the person is altered.

Mr. *Goodwin* laid these three grounds: 1. That here is institution for church censure, with whom he agreed in opinion; because the words following of 'binding and loosing' import church censure. 2. That the institution of church censures lies upon one congregation. This he denied.

Mr. *Goodwin* to prove this, alleged the allusion from the synagogues, to which, he said, our Saviour alluded.

To which Mr. *Calamy* answered: 1. That the Independents had denied excommunication in the synagogues. 2. That the Ἀρχισυνάγωγοι were not of divine institution. *Ergo*, they now spake against themselves.

2. Mr. *Goodwin* had said, that by two or three are here to be understood, so as to import a small congregation: To this he answered, 1st. that this is near to the Brownists' opinion, that two or three sometimes signify 'many.'

3. Mr. *Goodwin* urged the first churches; as the church of Jerusalem of one hundred and twenty. Mr. *Calamy* answered, Christ had appeared to five hundred; and questioned, whether the church after Christ's death ever could [*]

4. Mr. *Goodwin:* It must be of that church whereof he is a brother. *Answer.* So is he of the presbyterial church.

Mr. *Goodwin's* third proposition was:—This particular church having sufficiency of officers, hath entire power of excommunication.

Here Mr. *Calamy* observed, that they made two different congregations; one with officers sufficient, and the other without; and their very phrase, "with sufficiency of officers," doth mightily help for the presbytery.

Mr. *Goodwin* had proved his proposition by the power of the synagogue: He answered, they had not complete power, and their power was dependent upon the Sanhedrim.

Mr. *Goodwin* had urged, That church that must hear it, must end it. *Answer.* So it is true.

Mr. *Goodwin* had said, It comes not to presbytery, till a lapse. Mr. *Calamy* desired to know what is meant by "lapse," whether deficiency or corruption of officers, or maladministration?

Mr. *Goodwin* had said, If you give any power, you must give all power.

Answer. Betwixt admonition and excommunication there is a vast difference; for one is of one, the other of more. Then he concluded with this position:

This church in Matt. xviii. signifies a church consisting of more congregations than one; for that this is the common signification of the word in Scripture.

Mr. *Rutherford:* The many arguments brought against the proposition have not spoken to it; for though it be granted that particular congregations may excommunicate, yet doth it not conclude against dependence upon the presbytery.

Mr. *Selden* confessed, that he could not find any kind of jurisdiction in this chapter; and he told a story of a Jesuit, Xavier, that turns the place in Persique, "Dic principi ecclesiæ." Item. That all the Fathers in the first times do ever apply this text to jurisdiction, before Rome church grew high: viz. not in the four first centuries, unless it be in the forged book of Cyprian "de abusionibus sæculi." Then he offered these things:

1. To consider the time, place, and way of writing of this. Matthew's Gospel was first written: viz. about eight years after Christ's ascension; so is in an old copy of Greek used by Beza, and an Arabic.

2. It is conceived it was written in Hebrew, for the Hebrews, and as the Syrian דאלדן. Now in the Hebrew text it is עדה in these two editions we have, and belike in Matthew's; now in chap. xvi. it is קהל.

Now the Acts of the Apostles, which is the first place we find "ecclesia" in, was not written of fourteen years after this of Matthew.

Now the course of admonition among the Jews was: They distinguished betwixt offences betwixt man and man, and betwixt man and God: now he that had been offended

by man was to go single and desire satisfaction; and if he would not hearken, then take more company, and if אינו שומע then לב ם הגד.

Now every one of the courts was called עדה. Excommunication among the Jews might be inflicted by any of twelve years old, and so by consequence every court might do it: but the synagogue did not use it: and Ἀποσυνάγωγος, was not utterly outlawed from the synagogue, but some part of ordinary free conversation denied him.

Now קהל עדה "ecclesia," &c. must be interpreted according to the occasion, for a certain number, "secundum subjectam materiam," as Deut. xxiii. "an Ammonite may not enter" בקהל, id est, of women; for the Jews understand it of marrying an Israelitish woman.

He concluded that this place might very well mean a Sanhedrim. Christ was in Capernaum now when he spake this, where there was a Sanhedrim. Now his speech is so Jewish that it results to this, If an Israelite offend thee, tell the Sanhedrim.

Obj. But how is it, "Let him be unto thee a heathen?"

Ans. This indeed may be excommunication by the court; or, 2. By him himself; "If thy brother offend," &c. after such and such admonition, sue him at the court, or else inform of him there: if he will not obey this court, do thou excommunicate him.

Mr. *Herle* answered him, That some in the fourth century so understand it as we do:—and the Greek to us is the original, in that John that translated this gospel, had the Spirit; for Matthew wrote it in Syrian: now in the Greek it is ἐκκλησία, which means not only a number, but a number called.

Mr. *Marshal* answered Mr. *Selden*, but so, as I confess, gave me no satisfaction.

Mr. *Nye:* 1. There is no distinct name of presbyteries one above another in Scripture. 2. There is no distinction or difference in power or nature. 3. There is no difference in operation.

These arguments he used to prove that 'there is no power over another power,' and these he dilated exceeding long as he useth to do: and was about to proceed to shew that 'there is no necessity,' when he was taken off as speaking nothing

to the question, but he would not be taken off: and would not be convinced that he was besides order; whereupon there was some heat, and it was called to try it by vote; but the Lord *Say* and others gainsaid it,—so that it was declined: and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, Feb. 21.]—The first thing done to-day was that the order to send Dr. *Burgess* to Hempstead, from the House of Lords, was read.

Which being done, Dr. *Burgess* desired some way to be found out to hasten and expedite our work:—whereupon we fell upon the report of the committee for that purpose: and, 1st. It was voted that the Assembly should sit every Wednesday and Friday when the great committees do not sit: but this day excepted. 2. That every committee be required to state questions as clearly as possible; and as near as may be set down wherein any differ. 3. That none asperse other; nor pursue or answer any text, or other matter, brought in upon the by.

This being done, we fell upon the work of the day upon Matt. xviii. and Mr. *Gillespie* first began: and first began to answer to Mr. *Selden*, who held this place to mean a civil court, which he confuted with these reasons:

1. The nature of the offence and cause here treated of is spiritual: for it is scandal:—whereby it is trespassed against charity.

2. The end is spiritual: for it is not restitution or satisfaction, which is civil, but to gain the soul.

3. The persons are spiritual: for Christ speaks to his apostles; ver. 18.

4. The manner of proceeding is spiritual, ver. 19, all is done in the name of Christ.

The Papists challenge us for expounding these verses of censures; but our Protestant writers understand it generally not for a meeting for worship but for censure.

5. The censure is spiritual: for it is binding of the soul.

6. Christ would have sent his disciples for private injuries to civil courts.

7. The church of the Jews had spiritual censures: "Let him be as a heathen," &c. It doth not only import a separation from them, but "prohibitio a sacris;" for the heathen might not come into the Temple; Ezek. xliv. 9, Acts xxi. 28.

Publicans were not admitted into the Temple; Philo saith, a manslayer was not admitted into the Temple; and so Josephus saith, Simon accused Agrippa for a wicked man, and would have him kept from the Temple.

The ceremonially unclean might not enter, 2 Chron. xxiii. 18; much more those that were morally so.

Then fell he upon some objections of the Independents,—which when he was falling upon, I was called out by a friend. But, as I was informed, he spake very home, and sharply, and very largely.

After him spake Mr. *Young*, and first answered Mr. *Selden;* and, 1st. to what he had said, that none of the Fathers of the three hundred years understood this place of jurisdiction: and proved out of Cyprian, ep. 55. and 76. Origen, tract. 6. in Matt. and Hom. 7. in Josh. and in Levit. iii., that they understood it of censures.

2. That the writing of Matthew in Hebrew is not doubtful in Jerome, Eusebius, but Epiphanius scrupleth at it.

Mr. *Selden* answered him again. 1. That Cyprian did only speak of fleeing him that would not hear the church. 2. That Origen doth as little speak of jurisdiction.

Mr. *Coleman* answered Mr. *Gillespie* in behalf of Mr. *Selden:* and proved that the Sanhedrim was not a spiritual court, for there might be never a priest in it, and so was it in Numbers: and spake largely to his seven arguments.

Mr. *Nye:* 1. By "ecclesia" is a particular congregation, or else there is power over power, and a presbytery over a presbytery. But there is not a power over a power. *Ergo.*

And here he was stopped again, and called to conclude against the propositions; and yet could he not be brought to it: but run over the heads of those things he spake yesterday: because he can find but one name, but one nature, and but one operation of a presbytery.

2. If a power over a power, then there is one over that and another over that: till you come to subdue all the people unto an ecclesiastical government commensurate to the civil.

3. The ordering of the church by Christ is such as may be without jealousy and suspicion: now power over power in the church extends itself equal with the civil; for it is inconvenient to nourish such a vast body in a common-

wealth. Now this is, 1. As great as the civil. 2. It is spiritual. 3. It is so immediately upon the conscience.

If it cannot stand well for a great commonwealth to have as great a body grow within it, then is it not to be endured: but, *ergo*.

1. Look abroad, and nothing troubles men more than to think whether the presbytery shall be set up "jure divino." 2. That if it be, it will grow as big as the civil.

2. Where two vast bodies are of equal amplitude, if they disagree it is nought; if they agree, it will be worse, one will closely be working against another. And here he read something out of Mr. *Rutherford's* preface upon his assertion of the Scotch government, and would have fetched something out of it: when it was sharply prohibited, and he cried out of, as disorderly and dangerous; and Mr. *Henderson* cried out that he spake like Sanballat, Tobiah, or Symmachus: and Mr. *Sedgwick* wished that he might be excluded out of the Assembly: and here was a great heat, and it was put to the question, and voted that he had spoken against order.

And then Mr. *Wheeler* spoke very seasonably, that he might do well to remember his protestation which binds him to speak what conduceth to the peace of the church.

After which Mr. *Marshal* answered, and appealed in conclusion to the members of the houses, which were very many present, whether the presbyterial government be more terrible to them, or ten thousand, or twenty thousand congregations, none in reference or dependance to another?

My Lord *Warriston* shewed, that the ecclesiastical and civil government strengthen one another. And that one power above another should be two states, is no more than in the civil, where one court is subordinate to another, and yet but one state; and he spake very largely in answer to all the arguments used by the Independents; and spake upon the text. "Binding and loosing," is spoken to and of the apostles: *ergo*, that before: Here are four steps. 1. Private admonition. 2. Before two. 3. "Dic ecclesiæ." 4. "What you bind on earth," and ὑμεῖς may be the presbytery, though "ecclesia" be a particular congregation.

Mr. *Vines:* There is nothing of incongruity in having power over power; for that there was subordination in the

ecclesiastic state of the Jews; Συνέδριον, Συναγωγὴ, עדה, are single words, and yet contain subordination.

Mr. *Herle* would plead, that whatsoever had been said against Mr. *Nye*, was against order; because he was adjudged to speak against order: and yet he went on in answer of him.

Mr. *Seaman* proved, that there is a power over a power in every family, congregation, and commonwealth.

So also did Mr. *Whitlocke*, the parliament-man, shew it in the civil state; where there is "potestas jurisdictionis," and "potestas gladii;" and in the exercise of both these there is a power over a power, and concluded,—with 'what a confusion it will prove to have congregations independent.'

My Lord *Say* proposed, That for the finding out of the truth, the presbyterial men should shew what they mean, or what is their opinion; for that they agree not in opinion among themselves.

Hereupon Mr. *Vines*, and after him Dr. *Burgess*, took occasion to urge, That it might be put to the question, whether these arguments had concluded against the proposition.

But Mr. *Nye* and Mr. *Goodwin* interposed, and hindered us a long time; but at last it was put to the question, and voted that it was not proved.

It was also put to the question, That the affirmative should be next debated, and voted affirmatively: and so we adjourned.

This day Sir *Thomas Barrington* was entered a member of the Assembly, and took the protestation.

Thursday, Feb. 22.]—This morning we fell upon the proof of our proposition; and the first proof brought in by the committee, was the example of the church at Jerusalem.

Dr. *Temple* first began upon this; and though we held the presbytery clearly, yet did he query, whether this be proof of the church at Jerusalem: for, 1. quæritur whether there were at Jerusalem many fixed congregations, and "videtur quod non." 1. Because the Scripture is silent in it: and here Dr. *Burgess* stopped him, as speaking against order, because he fell upon the negative: but he was called on to go.—That there was but one congregation at Jerusalem: for they neither dwelt apart, nor met apart, nor had distinct ministers: for that they dwelt not apart, is plain. 2. That

they met not apart: for though the apostles went from house to house to teach the people, that is, privately; yet had they but one public meeting-place; ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, Acts ii. 44, and ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, and κατ' οἶκον are opposed, Acts v. 12. 42, and five thousand men, besides women, μυριάδες, Acts xxi. 20. 3. They had no presbytery fixed to preach to any place.

Obj. So many thousands as twenty thousand cannot meet in one place. *Ans.* They met daily, and they met several times of the day, and the apostles were ready to preach to them.

Obj. How could they receive the sacrament in the temple. *Ans.* There is no mention of the sacrament in Acts, "breaking of bread is not it."

2. It was κατ' οἶκον.

3. If it was in the Temple, it was not for number, but for fear of the Jews.

2. There was not a combination among the pastors and elders to exercise government. The people in those places did submit to their presbyters, not coacted, but voluntary. For in Jerusalem we find no exercise of government by presbyters without the apostles.

3. There were not in that church ruling-elders.

To the Dr.'s first objection, that there was but one congregation, I answered:—

1. That such a multitude of pastors as eighty-two, which were there, could not suit with one congregation.

2. There were divers languages that understood not one another; *ergo,* there could not but be divers congregations.

3. One part of the church had deacons, and the other had not; *ergo,* we must distinguish of their congregations.

4. In Acts xii. there are ἱκανοὶ συνηγμένοι, and yet James and the brethren were not there.

Mr. *Palmer* argued also thus:—What was used in the purest time of the church, may be now. But then were several congregations under one government, as at the church at Jerusalem: for first there were one hundred and twenty; Acts i. and ii. 41, three thousand souls; and chap. iv. five thousand: and that these were now five thousand, it is apparent by the very context; and ver. 14, believers are again added by multitudes. Not that all these did not meet in one place; it is likely they had no public meeting-place at all, as a Christian church. And chap. v. 12, "they were

in Solomon's porch;" viz. the apostles; and he shewed that "breaking of bread" meaneth the sacrament, because it is set down and hedged in with doctrine and prayer, and Acts xx. the disciples are said to meet together to break bread.

And he took at my argument about several languages, and of eighty-two pastors there, and followed it close.

Dr. *Gouge:* Out of Acts xii. it is said "prayer was made by the church," which is said peculiarly to be in the house of John Mark.

Dr. *Temple* replied again and again; and I answered him over and over again.

Then Mr. *Seaman* called that we might first fall upon this business, to conclude whether the church of Jerusalem consisted of presbytery:—and this cost some debate before we could fall upon it.

Then Mr. *Goodwin* denied Mr. *Palmer's* major, for that that church at Jerusalem, was not as yet "ecclesia formata."

Mr. *Marshal* answered, that their own principles challenge the power of the people, from Matthias' choice, and there they own it for a formed church.

Mr. *Selden* moved that these four things should first be agreed on. 1. That at Jerusalem there were presbyters. 2. Whether these were a presbytery. 3. Whether there were several congregations. 4. Whether these were governed by this presbytery.

But here was a great deal of debate, before we could settle where to begin; and the Independents opposed with vehemency, and we had some heat: at last we fell upon this, "that the number of believers in Jerusalem were more than could meet together in one place;" Acts i. 15, ii. 41, iv. 4, v. 14, vi. 1. 7, xxi. 20.

Here, first Mr. *Burroughs* and I had a canvass about the five thousand in Acts iv. whether they were new converts, which I averred, and he denied; and when I had done, Mr. *Palmer* backed me in it.

Mr. *Goodwin* here said, this our argument was an episcopal argument; and this he was sharply taken up for.

Mr. *Gillespie*, out of Chrysostom, Œcumenius, proved this five thousand to be a distinct number; and he observed that the seven deacons were not for one congregation: and he retorted to Mr. *Goodwin's* twit of episcopal arguments, that

Parker lays it to the charge of the bishops, that there is no appeal and remedy against their errors and injustice.

Mr. *Burroughs* questioned whether these five thousand or the others, were of the church of Jerusalem.

Mr. *Palmer* answered: 1. They were dwellers in Jerusalem; Acts ii. 6, &c. v. 14. 16, vi. 6, 7.

I answered, that they came unbelievers thither; and being there they sold their land.

Mr. *Goodwin*, out of Mr. Mede, would prove that they were not dwellers at Jerusalem; for that κατοικεῖν, in Gen. xxvii. is abiding only for a few days: and they are said to be κατοικοῦντες, Mesopotamians: Mr. *Palmer* answered him, and so did Mr. *Bathurst*.

Mr. *Vines*, held κατοικοῦντες to be only to be 'abiding;' having come up to the feast.

Mr. *Seaman:* They were added to the church; viz. to the church of Jerusalem.

I answered, that they came not to the feast, but because they looked that the kingdom of heaven did shortly appear. Luke xix. *Ergo*, the ground was false.

Mr. *Goodwin* would not yet be satisfied that these converts were standing members of the church of Jerusalem.

Dr. *Burgess:* in Luke xxiv. 46, 47, proved it.

Mr. *Seaman* also did it out of the necessity of their abiding there when they had sold their lands: and the great collections made for them out of the churches of the Gentiles.

Now Mr. *Vines* came in, and agreed with us in this, that they were not fluid members of the church in intention; for when they were converted and sold their estates, they could not return, both in regard of their bodily and spiritual subsistence. And that they made deacons, it is evident they stuck long and resolutely together. And Acts v. there came fear ἐφ' ὅλην ἐκκλησίαν: which was the church of Jerusalem: and so a fixed church. Ὅσοι κτήτορες, shewed that all sold them; and it is παντες also. And this was followed with divers arguments from divers.

Then was it called to the question, and here was a great deal of agitation what the question should be; and at last it was ready for the question, when I desired to stop it a little for that it was not very perfect sense; for that it run thus: "All the believers mentioned, Acts i. ii. iv, &c. were added

to the church at Jerusalem:" now there was no church at all before those in Acts i. and having stopped it thus, Mr. *Burroughs* urged to have something said concerning the five thousand which was done; and it extended to a long debate: at last it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, that the number of believers mentioned Acts i. 15, ii. 41, iv. 4, v. 14, vi. 6, 7, belonged to the church in Jerusalem, as members in that church.

Then Dr. *Burgess* moved concerning a grave Grecian minister, who hath suffered exceeding much in his own country, that some course might be taken for his good:—but nothing more was said or done in it.

This day also, before we rose, Mr. *Cawdrey's* sermon, preached before the House of Commons, at the last fast, was given to every one of us.

Friday, Feb. 23.]—This morning the first thing done was, that Mr. *Foxcroft,* who had been once here at our first sitting, but went down, and was taken prisoner by Hastings, came in now, and took the protestation.

Then fell we upon the work of the day; viz. Whether all these mentioned in Acts i. ii. iv. v. vi. could meet together ordinarily, in all acts of worship?

Mr. *Marshal* first spake, That the question is not to be understood of possibility; for that ten thousand or twenty thousand men could possibly meet at once, and it may be they might be preached to; but this is to be understood of the ordinary course, in time of persecution.

Mr. *Nye* answered, that the matter of persecution doth not alter the business.

Mr. *Reynor:* There were thousands converted by John Baptist, and many by our Saviour, and the most of these were now alive. *Ergo,* the number was so vast, that they could not possibly meet.

Mr. *Goodwin:* How many thousands, it is not so clearly to make out; yet they were many thousands; but, first, lay this ground.

1. This was the first of all churches—this was the first; and, *ergo,* would cleave together to the utmost largeness possible:—For, 1. It was the first church. 2. An epitome of all churches to come. 3. The universal church. 4. Gathered under the apostles, which were the ministers of the universal church; *ergo,* would tie together under the apostle's

ministry as much as might be: and they had much freedom, for the people magnified them; and so they had freedom of the temple. When they were one hundred and twenty, they were in one place; and so Acts ii. 1, they were ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, which refers to the place. And the place where they were held three thousand, ver. 6; and yet there were also more that heard. And that it was in the temple, chap. iv. 1. 23, they came εἰς ἰδίους, and, chap. v. 4. In Solomon's porch, and ὁμοθυμαδὸν, and none durst join themselves to them; and Josephus saith, Solomon's porch was the outer court, or, the court of the heathen. And chap. vi. "The multitude of disciples met together," &c.

To him I answered, That it was impossible that the converted Christians could possibly enjoy the liberty of the ordinances in the temple; the concourse of the people was so very infinite;—at Pentecost, every sabbath, and indeed every day, when there were five thousand in every course.

Mr. *Seaman*, upon Mr. *Goodwin's* concluding that all believers were in the church at Jerusalem, did conclude that that made against him; and that all the meetings that they had in the temple, were as Jews, not as Christians;—and to his urging they were ὁμοθυμαδὸν and ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, he answered it was like the doctrine of transubstantiation, which must be believed forsooth, though never so absurd; so this. And ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, Psal. ii. 1, in the LXX, is ὁμοθυμαδὸν in Symmachus, and both mean not identity of places.

And that the one hundred and twenty were together it is true; but that they were in the chamber where Matthias was chosen, when the Holy Ghost came upon him.

And to determine upon this point, it must not be shewed how the apostles met in the temple, but where they met out of it. And ὁμοθυμαδὸν doth not mean concourse of persons, but of affection, and practice in several places; as when the Jews in their several houses ate the passover, they did it ὁμοθυμαδόν.

It is probable that the like use the Jews made of the temple, they did of the synagogues; and it is likely the Christians would use the liberty alike, in either place, to hear the Scriptures read, &c.; but for their Christian ordinances they must need use the private houses; and their meetings could not possibly be otherwise.

Mr. *Calamy* answered this that Mr. *Seaman* had omitted.

If private meeting was the constant course for receiving of the sacrament, then, &c. Acts ii. 46, and he proved that breaking of bread was the sacrament, because it is said, They break bread from house to house.

It cannot stand with the Greek to take ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ for the same place, for it should be ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ: *ergo*, it means ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα. The circumstances may sometimes make us take it for the place, but the language doth not force it.

Mr. *Goodwin:* True; the captain of the temple came on them, yet, Acts iv. they durst not meddle with them. And if they might come thither as Jews, they would also take boldness to come as Christians.

They did preach out of the temple, and κατ' οἶκον but as Acts xx. 20. and so it follows that all their public meetings were in the temple.

This must be taken literally; because it is plainly said they were ἐν στοᾷ.

And the Jews and heathens were in one place at the crucifying of Christ, &c.

But he stuck still because the place is still named.

Mr. *Herle:* The apostles still took occasion of the concourse in the temple: and the captain of the temple durst not put them to death, but yet they did imprison them.

Mr. *Vines:* It might very well be supposed that there were public and private meetings, and upon different or several occasions. For the Jews' religion still stood, and the apostles might go and preach and open the Scripture there; but to use the sacraments there was to affront their typical worship.

Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ signifieth together, not alway in place; 1 Cor. xi. 'when ye meet in ἐκκλησίᾳ;' now this meaneth not in place.

People may be said to be met together collectively, though not in one place; as the congregations in London on the sabbath.

Mr. *Bathurst:* The partaking of the sacrament in the temple includes this difficulty: 1. where should they have beds for the purpose: Acts ii. and vi. compared, do shew two congregations, for they are divided into two tongues, Ἑβραῖοι and Ἑλληνισταί.

Mr. *Gillespie:* 1. There was some worship common to the Jews and Christians; viz. for preaching; and for this

the temple was the fittest: but to have the sacraments in the temple would have been the most mixed communion that ever was. *Ergo,* they must have peculiar private places for this. 2. That they had, is apparent, Acts iv. 25, and Acts v.

3. Had they undertaken to administer the sacrament in the temple, they would have been much more checked for it than for preaching.

4. They had their collections in their holy meetings, Acts iv. 34, 35.

5. Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ signifieth agreement of mind.

6. Were it granted it signifieth the place, yet doth it not import their gathering into one place and time; as [*] forty thousand were gathered together.

7. Grant that too, yet five thousand men, and women and children proportioned, and Acts v. 14. " multitudes of both," &c. inforce it cannot be imagined that they could meet together.

Mr. *Nye:* If they that hold the negative, can but bring probable reason, it will serve the turn; whereas the affirmative must bring cogent. Now the phrase being so often used, and not being against Scripture nor faith, we must hold to the letter, Luke xii. 1. John viii. 20.

In Christ's time, John's baptism was digested; *ergo,* so might they use the sacraments in the temple:—and here he spake largely.

Mr. *Rutherford:* That the Christian Jews received the sacraments in the temple, was never yet held by Papist or Protestant. It is very unlike, that one Apostle should preach, and eleven of them be hearers.

Mr. *Palmer:* That they did meet as a church in the temple is yet to prove: for through the Acts they never meet as a church, but in private. Yea, on the day of Pentecost, they were not in the temple, &c.

The receiving of the Lord's Supper was in those times at night: and this makes their receiving of it in the temple utterly improbable:

And the Jews themselves, in preaching in the temple, did it " gregatim :" as in Nehem.: so did the apostles distribute their preaching.

Then he would suppose, that though there were room to preach and receive the sacraments in the temple, yet could they not exercise government there.

Mr. *Bridges:* We are not to depart from the Scripture letter, when there is no absurdity or contradiction: now which of these is in this?

Mr. *Burroughs:* The stress lies in this, that the number was so great, &c. but you have argued from their persecution, &c.

Mr. *Seaman:* That they did not receive the sacrament, for it was a sin for them to receive it there. For, 1. Our Saviour did not ordain it for a temple-use. 2. They could not do it without offence. 3. They reverenced the temple. Now to do so as to receive the sacrament there, was to sacrifice the abomination of the Jews before their faces.

There were more believers in Jerusalem than could make an "ecclesia congregativa."

Here Mr. *Goodwin* desired to have spoken; but it was called to adjourn till afternoon: and so we did.

Friday afternoon.]—We fell upon our work again, and first Mr. *Carter* began to this purpose:—

It is apparent there were three thousand, but the five thousand is to be understood of the hearers, but not of the believers: for if you refer this to believers, you must have ten thousand in the audience: but if there were but one hundred or two hundred, it might be said they were many.

To this I answered, That the Holy Ghost goes not about to set down the number of the hearers, but believers; as in the miracle of the loaves, they are named on whom the miracle is shewed; and so here.

Then Mr. *Goodwin* spake his sense thus:

This phrase ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ being joined with ὁμοθυμαδὸν, imports the same place as Acts ii. 1. "The wind filled all the house," &c. therefore they were there in the same place. So Acts ii. 46. ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν ἱερῷ instead of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ. Act v. 12. iv. 24. iii. 1. 1 Cor. xiv.—the whole church to meet together, this cannot be in a distributive sense.

Now Acts ii. 46. importeth their meeting in worship: and he found no arguments yet cogent to prove they had not the sacrament in the temple: and they might have it in the fields: and what did the apostles care for affronting the ceremonies used in the temple? And De Dieu holds they received the sacrament in (Jer. xxxvi. 10.) the court of the temple.

They beginning the church of one hundred and twenty,

and that increasing, they would find inconvenience before they would part congregations.

And for jurisdiction they might meet all together, as as well as in election, Acts i. The meeting is denominated from them, *ergo*, as a church meeting.

Here I answered Mr. *Goodwin:* 1. That grant ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ to signify as he would have it, yet he must understand "secundum analogiam fidei," or "rationis:" as, "All the men of Sodom met at Lot's door;" this could not be: "The ark rested on the mountains of Ararat," that could not be: "Jephtha was buried in the cities of Gilead," that could uot be: *ergo*, to be expounded "secundum rationem."

2. That the Lord's Supper was strange among the Jews, but baptism was not.

3. That Peter, in Acts ii. preached not alone, and the rest stood by; nor that Peter preached alone, Acts iii.

Mr. *Burroughs:* It might be, the Jews would not give them liberty of space and room: but the question is, Whether if the Jews would have done so, then they could have met together?

Mr. *Marshal: Ergo*, the apostles, guided by the Spirit, would not have churches to trench upon Christ's institution, so as to suffer the church to be out of its proper constitution, till it had room enough allowed to it; but would part it into congregations, that they might enjoy the ordinances.

Mr. *Burroughs* still urged to have his query resolved.

Mr. *Goodwin* again urged, that the Holy Ghost doth purposely hold out this very thing, that they met in one place.

Mr. *Selden* first excepted at the expression "they could not meet;" but that they "did not meet" were proper: but that they met together in Christian worship, it is not to be made good: for whereas it is said they were προσκαρτεροῦντες ἐν ἱερῷ, this cannot be understood they were there as Christians: for, as yet, it was not condescended to among the Jews, that the Gentiles should come in, than as they were come in to be Jews. The Jews had now divers sects, Scribes and Pharisees; and so were Christians now looked upon: and they may very well be understood by the Essenes. Now the Jews at Jerusalem that became Christians, did believe, that concerning the Jews in Judea they must observe

Moses's law and customs; and then it is no wonder if they came constantly into the temple.

And here he justified my saying, that baptism was long before John.

Now that they had particular congregations, he was very confident: for if they would keep up Moses' law, as they checked Paul, Acts xxi. for dissuading men from walking in Moses, then would they do as the Jews did. Now in Megillah, fol. 73. 'it is said, there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem;' and wheresoever were ten households, that were not a piece of a synagogue, then were they to be cast in a synagogue, or congregation, in Maimonides, in תפלת. Then is it most probable that these Jewish Christians would cast themselves into several congregations. And this seems to be hinted at, Acts ii. 1: their going to the temple was Jewish, their breaking of bread κατ' οἶκον, was Christian. In the Syriac Testament "breaking of bread," is expressly the Eucharist; and κατ' οἶκον may mean "beth keneseth," or some house prepared for the purpose.

Mr. *Burroughs* urged again, That it might be proved they could not ordinarily meet.

Mr. *Marshal* said, We are to prove and handle this "consideratis considerandis."

Mr. *Palmer:* The proposition may be taken either "physicè," and even so take it, it was not possible to meet to receive the sacrament; or "moralitè," and "ethicè," and then if there were a constant hinderance.

Mr. *Herle:* 1. Here are five thousand, Acts iv. 2. Here are multitudes both of men and women. Now numbers are great or little by comparison: now what doth the evangelist compare with here? namely, with the preceding number: so that the meaning is of a number above five thousand.

Now come to their praying: could one man, kneeling on the ground, pray so as twenty thousand, or thirty thousand, men should hear him? and the apostles had not miraculous voices, though they had miraculous gifts.

Mr. *Bridges* moved, That it might be put in more temperate terms, for "could not," is taken either absolute, then it is too high; if comparatively taken, then the like inconvenience would fall upon particular congregations, that we pretend upon them in one in regard of the Jews.

But it was called to the question; and voted, that the number of believers in the church of Jerusalem, was more than could ordinarily meet in one place, in one time, in the exercise of worship and government.

Then fell we upon fixing something whereupon to fall at our next sitting: at last it was resolved to proceed upon the report of the committee, and so we adjourned.

Monday, Feb. 26.]—The first thing done this morning was, that Mr. *Millington* brought in an order from the House of Commons, desiring the Assembly to write letters to the ministers of London and Westminster, to desire them to urge their congregations to subscribe and contribute to the raising of fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horse, for Sir *Thomas Middleton*, for the reducing of North Wales: and withal was the ordinance brought and read, that enabled and authorized Sir *Thomas* governor in those parts.

Mr. *Herle* spake very earnestly to put the business forward, and so did Mr. *Ley*, and so did Mr. *Woodcock;* and it was ordered that Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Spurstow*, Mr. *Herle*, and Mr. *Chambers*, should draw up a letter to the London ministers; but it being desired that the letter might be dispersed before the fast, it was thought, that the fewer men would make the more speed; and so Mr. *Herle* and Mr. *Ley* were only appointed to it.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was, to prove that the church of Jerusalem was more than one congregation, from the number of teaching-elders.

Mr. *Bridges* denied the consequence, which Mr. *Marshal* proved thus: That if the twelve stayed at Jerusalem, and if they preached to one congregation only, every apostle preached but seldom.

Mr. *Bridges:* The apostles' only work was not to attend the Christians, but to attend the converting of Jews.

Mr. *Gattaker:* They might preach in the Jews' synagogue on the sabbath, and on the next day attend the Christians.

Mr. *Goodwin:* The apostles stayed at Jerusalem for convenience, to go to all places to lay on hands.

Here I spake, That the Seventy were they that preached to the Jews, Acts ii. and this brought in some debate. Mr. *Seaman* would plead that all the hundred and twenty were preachers.

Mr. *Gillespie* said, We needed not to insist upon this

"medium;" for it is enough that the twelve apostles did preach, and preach daily.

Mr. *Chambers* offered Acts iv. 31, to prove more teachers. And Mr. *Palmer* backed him in it from Acts xv. 11.

I offered Acts xxvi. 10, 11, which cost us some debate. At last the business was putting to the question, when some emergencies arose; and, among the rest, I proved, by the harmony of the evangelists, that the Seventy met Christ at Bethany, when he came up to his passion; *ergo*, were now at Jerusalem, and sure were not idle.

Mr. *Vines* also proved, That the διασπαρέντες, Acts viii. were preachers, and that every member of the church was not dispersed; and so confirmed it out of Acts xi. 1.

Mr. *Rutherford* urged Acts vi. 7. Many of the priests were obedient to the faith; now it was their office of old to teach; and sure they would not be idle now.

At last the business was putting to the question again, when it was called that some texts of scripture might be produced to confirm our position; and here the Independents interposed some scruples again, and denied the consequence still.

Mr. *Whittacre* answered for this; and followed my argument, that I had given the last day, about variety of languages: and here again we had a long debate, before the question could be put, and voted affirmatively, "That the many apostles, and other preachers in the church in Jerusalem, import there were many congregations."

Then fell we upon the expressions used by Scripture to this purpose; as, "breaking of bread from house to house," Acts ii. 42. 46. xii. 5. 12. 17.: and here we had some discourse for the confirming of the place: and chiefly about "breaking of bread;" to which I spake, That the phrase is not for common meals; which Mr. *Selden* backed: and he excepted against our translation of κατ' οἶκον, and understood of נכסת, or some synagogue or meeting-place.

All things were now common, both κτήματα and ὑπάρξεις, i. e. "mobilia" and "immobilia:" and then what was it to be at home; for none had a house: but the meaning is, that they met at the same time in public places.

Mr. *Gillespie:* The same reason militates against the Lord's supper, in the synagogues, that did in the temple: Rom. xvi. 5. ἐκκλησία κατ' οἶκον.

Dr. *Temple* would have κατ' οἶκον to be, every singular house.

Mr. *Young:* The meetings in the temple were not Christian set meetings, but occasional; and where then must they have private meetings?

Mr. *Goodwin:* "Breaking bread," and "eating," is used in Scripture, Acts xxvii. 35, for common eating; Acts xx. 16, means the same.

That they had love-feasts in the place of worship, the apostle denieth, 1 Cor. xi.: "eat at home."

Mr. *Vines:* This breaking of bread signifies common food as well as εὐλόγησε is used of it. And κλῶντες here is carried to μετελάμβανον, and bears it for common food.

Mr. *Seaman:* They laboured as much for community as possible; *ergo*, would cast themselves into as much society as might be.

Mr. *Woodcock:* In ver 42, it is told what they did; in ver. 46, where they did it. De Dieu interprets κατ' οἶκον privately, in opposition to ἐν ἱερῷ.

Mr. *Rutherford:* Προσκαρτεροῦντες includes public persons; so doth κλῶντες.

Dr. *Temple:* Here is mention only of the people.

At last it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, that Acts ii. 42, and 46, compared, shall be added, to prove that there were more congregations than one in Jerusalem: but when it was voted, that was doubted by some whether the negative or affirmative were more; and it was voted affirmatively again.

Then was the letter drawn up by Mr. *Herle* and Mr. *Ley* to the ministers in London, brought in and read, and approved: and so we adjourned till Thursday.

Thursday, Feb. 29.]—Being set this morning, we fell upon our work, where we left; and our subject was Acts xii. 5. 12. 17, to prove more congregations at Jerusalem than one.

Dr. *Gouge:* In ver. 5, the church is named, which in the other verses is explained, and two meetings mentioned.

Mr. *Marshal* thought the Scriptures not cogent.

Mr. *Calamy:* Prayers were made by the whole church: but the whole church was not met in one place, as ver. 12. 17; *ergo*, the church is not one congregation.

Mr. *Goodwin:* These were not met in public worship, but in private; and not the organical church, but the faithful.

Here I spake, That all the churches of Judea are called one church, for now it was Easter; and all the churches of Judea were here met, and yet called one church.

Mr. *Herle:* Ἐκτενὴς προσευχὴ importeth more than private prayer.

Mr. *Seaman:* The 5th verse is the key of the whole story: and it was not a handful of people, but the whole church; for reason itself, and the word ἐκτενὴς evince it.

Then was it put to the question, and voted negatively, that this should be waved.

Then fell we upon this proposition, "These several congregations were under one presbytery." And here was some debate upon the number of the proposition, whether it should be the 2d or 3d; but this was soon passed over.

Here Mr. *Herle* urged, That this argument that I had proposed about diversity of languages [*]; and the Assembly agreed to it; and so we fell upon it.

And this pinched the Independents; for Mr. *Bridges* would not have it fallen upon, unless the Assembly do vote to fall upon it; which it did accordingly. Then Mr. *Goodwin* would not have it concluded upon to-day; but he was soon resolved against.

And so we fell upon it, and divers spoke in it; as Mr. *Bathurst,* Mr. *Herle,* Mr. *Seaman;* and we had a long debate upon it.

Dr. *Temple:* Those that spake with several tongues, were only Jews, and so understood the same language, &c.

Mr. *Woodcock:* There must needs be but one language of all these people met together; for Peter preached but one language to all the three thousand; and Acts iv. 4.

Mr. *Vines* questioned, Whether all that came thither did not understand one language; and for this he cited Acts xxii. 2, ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ.

Here I answered them both: 1. That the ἑνδεκα stood forth as well as Peter; and that the story fixeth more especially upon Peter, because he was minister of the circumcision. 2. That in Acts iii. Peter's speech is set down; and yet Acts iv. 1, it is said, Λαλούντων αὐτῶν; and, 3. That though that were in Pentecost, and though Asian Jews understood the Hebrew tongue, yet it was not so with others mentioned, Acts ii.; for the Asian Jews were the next door to Jerusalem, in comparison of some other there mentioned;

and so might come every year to Jerusalem, but the others could not.

Mr. *Seaman:* It was the custom of the Jews to have interpreters in the temple; as Neh. viii. 8.

Mr. *Gillespie:* 1. Acts ii. So many nations would sure have so many several meetings. 2. Not only Peter preached, but all the Galileans, "in our several languages wherein we were born."

2. There were there not only Jews but proselytes. Now the proselytes sure understood not the Hebrew tongue.

3. Acts vi. There were ἑλληνισταὶ and Ἰουδαῖοι. Now it is very likely that every poor widow of the Hellenists had not the Hebrew tongue.

Mr. *Bridges:* There was one common language which they did understand. 1. Acts vi. Those there mentioned were converted in the temple; and the temple-language was one language. 2. The Jews now beyond sea understand Moses.

Mr. *Bathurst:* In Acts ix. 29, Paul spake and disputed with the Hellenists.

Mr. *Rutherford:* The prophecy of Joel was fulfilled the same very day of Pentecost now held: could it be so if there were not several nations and languages converted?

Mr. *Selden:* There was not one language that was understood amongst them. As for their "sacra," it was not much use of language. They might use their benedictions at the temple in any language that the people present understood, some things only excepted; as the words to the tried wife, and the blessing of the priests, Numb. vi., must be in Hebrew.

2. Again, the Hellenists, be they who they will, they in dispersion no doubt used the Greek Bible. It may be supposed Philo himself did not understand Hebrew; as is observed by Drusius.

3. No judge might be admitted into the great Sanhedrim, unless he had seventy tongues, "id est," many languages.

4. Synagogæ Libertinorum, Cyrenæorum, &c., Acts vi. shew diversity of nations, and there is as little doubt of diversity of languages.

5. Acts vi. There is a plain and evident distinction of the Hellenists and Hebrews, living asunder and severally, even in the time of having all things common.

Here it was ripe for the question, when Mr. *Calamy*

stopt a little to answer Mr. *Vines's* argument out of Acts xxi. Some answered, and Mr. *Seaman* also, That the gospel itself translates Hebrew and Syrian words in the gospel, into Greek.

And Mr. *Goodwin* also interposed to answer some arguments, as that the distribution to the widows in Acts vi. was by a private case.

Mr. *Woodcock* also conceived, that Acts vi. will not enforce such a difference: for that all the church was called together, upon the choice of deacons; *ergo*, they understood one another.

Mr. *Seaman* answered, That at Frankfort the French and English churches consent of divers things, yet understand not one another.

Now was it putting to the question, and voted that the diversities of languages among the believers at Jerusalem, shall be brought forth to prove distinct congregations.

Then did I put on the argument which I had given when I gave this, viz. that part of the church at Jerusalem had deacons, and part had not.

But the time being spent, it was not hearkened to: and so we adjourned.

Friday, March 1.]—This morning Mr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Foxcroft* took the covenant.

Then Dr. *Burgess* related what success he had had at Hempstead, the place where he went to preach instead of the dangerous Anabaptist, who had promised so to do. And, among other things, he told how the Assembly is scandaled, by reports that we carry all things in a tumultuary way, and overvoting; and that the seeds of Anabaptism and Antinomianism, sowed in those parts, came from one *Rendall*, who was sent thither by the committee upon a sequestration.

Then were there some words about some disgracing our Assembly of those that are of it; but when it was called by some to have them named, Mr. *Marshal* moved, That this general notion and hint might serve for the present.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was this proposition:

"The several congregations in Jerusalem were under one presbyterial government;" for,—

1. "They are called one church," Acts iii. 1, and xii. 5, and xv. 4.

Mr. *Marshal* moved, This might be passed, for that none would deny that the believers at Jerusalem were one church. But Mr. *Goodwin* said, It was yet to be proved, that they were one church in regard of government; and he denied any such government to be before the dispersion, Acts viii.

Dr. *Burgess* answered, That the dispersion did not make two churches.

Mr. *Marshal:* 1. This church, before the scattering being a church of Christ, had Christ's government instituted by him: but Christ appointed none but the presbyterial.

2. There is the self-same reason of their having the presbyterial government before their scattering as after. Now the main reason that denies that, is because the apostles governed them. But the apostles were there also after the dispersion: when the opponents do confess the government.

3. The apostles did all things before the dispersion as they did after; not imperiously, but judicially; as Acts i. and vi.

Obj. We do not read of elders till Acts xi.

Ans. This is no argument: for it is not good arguing that Ephesus had no elders till Acts xx. because they are not mentioned till then.

Mr. *Herle:* Acts ii. ult. and v. 11, and viii. 1, it is called one church before the dispersion; and if the church was one, sure the government was one.

Mr. *Goodwin* here argued, That some of these places spake plainly of an instituted church.

Mr. *Gillespie* offered this to prove that several congregations were after the scattering. 1. It were enough to prove it, because it was so before the scattering: for suppose that those many congregations, after the dispersion, were reduced to one congregation, this was but accidental; but this was not the first frame of it.

2. Not only the apostles stayed after the dispersion, but divers others; Acts viii. beginning.

3. After the dispersion, the apostles remained: now it can hardly be supposed but the apostles were employed, as they were before, in the word and prayer: now there had not been work for them, if there had been but one congregation.

4. The diversity of languages continued still in Jerusalem; *ergo*, diversity of congregations. And whereas they are called one church, why should they be so if it be not in a political consideration?

Mr. *Rutherford:* It is an ordinary argument with the opponents to prove singular congregations from the phrases, "the churches of Judea, Galatia," and others: and we may well borrow this argument to ourselves, having now proved more congregations in Jerusalem.

2. If there were communion in "sacris," as the opponents deny not, then why not in government?

3. Where there is misgovernment, there hath been a government; but at that church there was; Acts vi.

4. There is a formal act of government expressed in the choosing of the deacons; Acts vi.

5. In Acts ii. 42, διδαχῇ, κοινωνία, &c. The assertion of church-government, which came from New England, doth interpret κοινωνία, of community in government.

Mr. *Goodwin:* It is not asserted that there was no government: but the thing objected is, 1. The places brought must prove a church in relation to discipline: for in that sense it could not be said to be persecuted.

These were under the apostles' government: and it is questionable whether they fixed churches or congregations: and upon these grounds must we argue;—and here he answered Mr. *Gillespie.*

1. That they hold still the church of Jerusalem to be but one congregation, though sometimes they were put to meet in several places.

2. There is difference betwixt the persecution in Acts viii. 1, and xii. 1: for in xii. it is only against some of the church, but in viii. against all. And the apostles' stay there was to repair the church decayed there.

3. It is called the church, Acts viii. materially; hoc est, the saints.

And he answered also Mr. *Rutherford:*

1. They cannot be called churches but in reference to worship and discipline: but they may be called a church materially.

2. They had a government, it is true, but it is yet to prove that that was presbyterial.

Mr. *Gillespie* rejoined again; That the question is not

whether persecution may put one congregation to meet in several places; but whether, simply, there were many congregations.

Those many congregations are called one church, in regard of their incorporation; for there must need be a union, or else there cannot be a church.

Mr. *Seaman* retorted the Independents' argument upon themselves, thus: You plead there is mention of single congregations: yes, it is true, materially, i. e. saints, but not formally.

Here Mr. *Goodwin* confessed one church, but denied it in Acts viii.: and it was called to vote it, but some interposition there was.

Mr. *Vines:* The several congregations in Jerusalem had relation to the officers being in exercise of their office, as to the deacon; and by the same reason they may be supposed to have done to elders. Now the multitude chose the deacons.

Mr. *Goodwin* urged, That this will make deacons to be deacons in common, which in the presbyterial is denied.

Mr. *Selden* moved, That we should go on by these degrees:—1. To prove that the church at Jerusalem was under presbyters. 2. That these presbyters did make one body. 3. That this body exercised government.

Mr. *Palmer* moved, That it might be voted that these congregations were one church.

But Mr. *Seaman* interposed, to answer Mr. *Selden*, and said, that it is taken, "pro concesso," that there is a church government; and that we need not to talk of concorporation, &c. and this cost some debates and answers from Mr. *Goodwin* and Mr. *Selden*.

Mr. *Rutherford:* The apostles preached the word, and administered the sacraments as elders; and why then should they govern as apostles and not as elders?

Mr. *Calamy:* If the church of Jerusalem, consisting of many congregations, were governed by the apostles, then it is agreeable to the word of God, that there may be a presbyterial government, or many congregations under one government.

And now at last it was putting to the question, when the Independents interposed, and divers of them put in ex-

ceptions, and held us long: but at last it got to the question, and was voted that Acts ii. ult. v. 11, and viii. 1, doth prove that the several congregations in Jerusalem were but one church.

Then was it moved, That Acts xii. might be added to the same purpose; but Mr. *Goodwin* gainsaid it, and Mr. *Marshal* also agreed in; and so it was laid by for the present:—and we had divers discourses concerning it, and Mr. *Goodwin* laid out their scruples thus: "Before the dispersion, though they were many congregations, yet were not under a presbytery;—and though they were under a presbytery after the dispersion, yet were they then but one congregation:"—and this latter we referred to prove in the afternoon: and so adjourned till then.

Friday afternoon.]—We fell upon Acts xii. 5.

Mr. *Bathurst* tendered Acts ix. 31, καὶ ἐπληθύνοντο, to prove that the church in Jerusalem was grown into her former number or multitude, as before the dispersion.

Dr. *Smith* also spoke to the same purpose: 1. The dispersion itself was not of great multitudes. 1. Jerusalem was not emptied of believers. 2. The dispersed were only teachers: for the πλὴν τῶν Ἀποστόλων sets them in opposition in regard of doctrine. Philip, spoken of afterward, sheweth of what kind they were that were dispersed.

Mr. *Seaman* answered this objection of the Independents:—"The apostles were more than elders;" *ergo*, not elders. *Ans.* John Baptist was more than a prophet, and yet a prophet. And that it is an ill consequence to conclude there were no elders in the church of Jerusalem, till chap. xi. because there is no mention of them till then.

1. There was need of elders from the beginning, although the apostles were there: for the apostles were not sure to stay at Jerusalem any time, for the tenor of their commission was for abroad, and Christ bade them stay at Jerusalem till the Holy Ghost came upon them.

2. They that were dispersed, were certainly teachers, for they did the work of teachers; and after this dispersion we find the church at Jerusalem, exercising power in sending forth Peter and John to Samaria, and Barnabas to Antioch.

Mr. *Goodwin* offered to speak, but he said he could not tell what to speak to, for that so many things are a-foot at

once before us; and this held some time, before we could settle which to settle on. At last we fell upon proving divers congregations after the dispersion.

Mr. *Calamy:* Those arguments that prove so much before, two of them will hold now, viz. multitude of teachers and languages.

Mr. *Bridges:* The dispersion was of the church, not of preachers: for the persecution was cause of the dispersion, and the persecution fell upon the church and not upon teachers. These also went forth not upon mission but upon persecution; and whereas it is said they went preaching: there were others that had extraordinary gifts besides preachers, and exercised their gifts, as Priscilla and Aquila.

Mr. *Vines:* The persecution fell upon the church, but not the dispersion; for Saul yet found some in Jerusalem to be imprisoned. And they that were dispersed were preachers; for it is said, Acts xi., "They preached to none but to the Jews only."

Here we had a large debate, which held us even all afternoon,—and divers spake to it; among others I gave my sense.

1. That the intent of the Acts is to shew the propagation of the gospel by the appointed teachers.

2. This story takes at a story concerning preaching: it begins with Stephen, and ends with Philip.

3. If all the church were now scattered, it was such a sinking under persecution as never was.

4. The proportion of the persecutors and persecuted is not equal; Saul, and a few more, to many thousands.

5. The scattered preached: now to preach to Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, Christ had committed to preachers in office.

6. Paul followed the persecutors to other cities; now he would not follow private professors so far, for it was not worth the labour.

Mr. *Selden:* Εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον meaneth, not only that they went preaching the gospel, but preachers of the gospel: for that the word imports not only an act, but a habit, as σεβόμενος θεόν.

It was at last ready to put to the question, when the Independents interposed, and would have stopped, crying

out, this was not to the business of the report, and that we had been besides our order all afternoon:—and this cost some tug, before it could be put to the question; at last it being put, and was voted that "those words, Acts viii. 1, &c. do not imply such a dispersion, but that they might still continue divers congregations;"—and so we adjourned.

Monday, March 4.]—This day was I at Munden, but the work of the day was this.

Mr. *Bond,* the divine, was admitted to the Assembly.

The Assembly fell upon Acts ix. 31, xii. 24, xxi. 20, and debated them to prove the addition and multitude of believers in the church of Jerusalem; which while they were upon, there came in letters from the classes of Zealand, in which they most cordially thank us for our letters, and are most affectedly sensible of our miseries; and withal they exceedingly distaste the apology of the Independents; whereupon it was ordered that Mr. *Corbet* and Mr. *Reynolds* should translate the letters against Wednesday. And then the places debated were voted.

Tuesday, March 5.]—This morning we fell upon this proposition, "That the several congregations in Jerusalem were one church."

But before we fell upon it, Mr. *Ley* related of one Mr. *Antony,* who hath had our testimony to commend him to a sequestration, who is now found a scandalous man; and it was referred to Mr. *Ley,* to report the business to the committee for sequestrations. Dr. *Burgess* also reported concerning Mr. *Needham,* my countryman, as leaning to Antinomianism, &c. which was also referred to the like.

Dr. *Stanton* then reported this, concerning church-censures;—having reported six propositions before.

7. When believers multiply to such a number as that they cannot meet in one place, it is lawful and expedient that they divide into distinct and fixed congregations; 1 Cor. xiv. 26. 33. 40, Heb. x. 24, 25.

8. We find no other ordinary way of dividing, than by the bounds of their dwellings. For, 1. They who dwell together, are bound to all kind of moral duties one to another, by virtue of their dwelling together; Deut. xv. 7. 11, Matt. xxii. 39. 2. Christ came not to destroy the law, but to ful-

fil and accomplish it; Matt. v. 17. 3. The communion of saints must be so ordered, as may stand the discharge of moral duties, and be without respect of persons; James ii. 1, 1 Cor. x. 32.

9. Single congregations ought to have such officers, ordinances, and administrations, as God hath instituted for edification. 1. Officers. One at least to labour in the word and doctrine; Prov. xxix. 18. 2. Another to care of the poor of that or other neighbouring congregations. Acts vi. 2, 3. 3. Another to assent in ruling. 1 Cor. xii. 20. 2. Ordinances. Prayer, thanksgiving, and singing psalms; 1 Tim. ii. 1, 1 Cor. xiv. 15. 26. 2. The word read. 3. Some part expounded and applied. 4. Sacraments administered. 5. Collections for the poor:—all these voted. 6. Censures:—of which these by the way.

10. There is a measure of liberty and privilege belonging to single congregations, 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, 2 Cor. i. 23, 24.

As, 1. They in it that are willing to make public profession of faith and repentance, are to be admitted to the sacraments, and their children baptized. Acts ii. 38, compared with 41. 47, 1 Cor. vii. 14. 2. No officers to be set over them which they can justly except against;—or continued, Acts vi. 3.

11. When congregations are divided and fixed, they need all mutual helps one from another, both in regard of their intrinsical weakness and mutual dependence; as also in regard of enemies without. Gal. v. 9, Acts xx. 29, 30, Heb. xii. 15, 1 Pet. v. 8.

12. No single congregations may ordinarily take to itself all and sole power in elections, ordinations, and censures; or in forensical, determining controversies of faith, cases of conscience, and things indifferent. 1. Because no congregation in the apostles' days did exercise this. 2. No one congregation ordinarily is intrusted with so much. 3. Because the number of officers in it are too few for this.

13. All the elders of a city in the apostles' time, did join in one to order and govern the congregations thereof; as in other things so for censures. Acts xx. 28—30, xxi. 18.

14. The elders of several congregations in our times, have like power and authority as they—as much need of associ-

ation among smaller congregations—in villages as amongst them in cities—and they may reap as much profit by it:—and *ergo*, ought they to be joined also to make up ample presbyteries, upon the same ground, and to the same end, that city congregations are united. 1. Because churches are to be alike, and to imitate one another in all lawful things. 1 Cor. xi. 16, xvi. 1, xiv. 33, Phil. iv. 8, 9, Acts xvi. 4. 2. Because schism is simply evil, and all appearance of it to be avoided. 1 Cor. xii. 25, Rom. xvi. 17, 18, 1 Thess. v. 20. 3. All congregations are but parts of one church and one body—family, commonwealth, and kingdom, whereof Christ alone is one head and king;—and, *ergo*, must communicate together, so far as possible for their edifying, Eph. ii. 12, 13. 15, 16. 19, iv. 3. 11—14, v. 23—25.

Then presently Acts xii. 5, xv. 4, were voted to prove that the several congregations of Jerusalem were but one church after dispersion.

Then fell we upon this, "That the elders of that church are mentioned," Acts. xi. ult. xv. 4. 6. 22, xx. 18; and this was ready to be voted when Mr. *Goodwin* interposed, that these places did not infer one presbytery.

Mr. *Vines:* If there be presbytery governing in common, there is a presbytery: for in the Old Testament, "presbyterion" is hardly to be found, but still זקנים; yet was it a college.

These elders may be considered two ways: either as a formal common Sanhedrim; 2. by combination, when every one hath his particular charge: and whether so or so, the presbytery and presbyterion can make no difference.

Mr. *Goodwin* required that there may be a proof that there was an association of these elders into a presbytery.

Mr. *Palmer* brought the report of the committee into this syllogism, thus:

"If these many congregations in Jerusalem be called one church, and the elders in that church mentioned, then were they under one presbytery; but; *ergo*.

Here Mr. *Goodwin* interposed again; but it was called to the question for the passing of those places which mention the elders; and here Mr. *Rutherford* moved that Acts xi. ult. might be left out, as scrupulous, whether it speaks of the elders of Judea or Jerusalem:—to this I answered, that

it was without question that Paul was at this time at Jerusalem; for his trance in the temple, and the rapture into heaven, was at this very time.

Then was it again putting to the question, when Mr. *Goodwin* interposed again, and excepted against our vote of Acts xii. 5, as concluding more than we had proved before. And this held a very long debate.

At last the places for elders were put to the question, and voted and passed.

Then fell we upon the presbytery; and Mr. *Gillespie* first spake to prove the presbytery before the dispersion.

1. The apostles are elders; for they are sent not only for those functions that were proper only to apostles, but also for those that are common to elders: for the power they received, Matt. xvi. 18, was such, and such they exercised in the church before the dispersion.

2. They had a common meeting for this purpose, Acts iv. 23, the ἴδιοι there are conceived by Beza to be the apostles and teachers. Bullinger calls it "sanctum ecclesiæ;" the Syrian addeth, "to their own brethren."

1. Certainly this cannot be meant of the whole church, for they could not all meet together, and Luke speaks of the church in ver. 32, and then the Syrian makes a division.

2. In ver. 31, the ἴδιοι speak the word.

3. Acts xiv. 23, &c. ἴδιοι signify those that are in a near relation, 1 Tim. v. 8.

Again, Acts iv. 35, "The distribution according to his need," could not be without serious consulting; and, Acts vi. the apostles could not call the multitude together, nor could it be without their consulting so to do.

Now after the dispersion, elders had not done the works of elders, if not in an eldership; for that is a chief part of their work in such a society. This is most agreeable to the light of nature, that officers should act together in consultation. And for that purpose he cited Tacitus, that tells what weakness a commonwealth falls into without consultation:—and they of the church have much more need.

2. This church had a Διακόνιον; *ergo*, "presbyterion," by how much more the souls of people are more excellent than their bodies.

Mr. *Marshal* also proved the like.

1. Presbytery in Scripture, in relation to the Christian church, is but twice used: now in other churches, when elders are mentioned, we conclude an eldership; and so must we at Jerusalem.

2. Let the carriage of the apostles in the government of the church be looked on, and they did that work alike before the dispersion and after; not "ad modum imperii," but "ministerii."

3. The scattered were teachers and church-officers; for, 1. Philip is an evangelist, and if they had made an evangelist, they sure made presbyters. 2. Those that converted, baptized; *ergo*, they had their elders and officers before their dispersion.

Mr. *Nye* answered Mr. *Gillespie:* That the apostles meeting together might be upon some other occasion than government.

Mr. *Herle:* Here the same men stand in a double capacity, one extraordinary, the other ordinary:—do act before the dispersion in an ordinary way. Here is an ordinary ministration and convention, election, &c. Acts vi. *ergo*, as elders.

Mr. *Goodwin:* The apostles in these did act as ordinary elders for the substance of the act: yet was their power different from the power of elders, in this, that they had power in all churches. Titus when he came to a church, he did an ordinary work when he ordained, yet he did it as having relation to all churches.

To make a presbytery, 1. There must be a power over many. 2. An association: now in Jerusalem there needed no association, for they were elders in all churches.

An apostle, wheresoever he comes, he is a fellow-elder. Every apostle had an entire power, as much as all together.

Here I answered to one particular of his speech: viz. That there is a necessity of association: for when Peter and Paul differed about converse with Gentiles, James and Peter about ceremony, how must the point be determined but by an association?

It grew now late, and the question before us was of no small intricacy, and therefore we referred to fall upon till tomorrow: and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, March 6.]—This morning being set, our work was, that we fell upon this proposition: "The several congregations in Jerusalem being called one church, and the elders of that church being mentioned, doth prove that those several congregations were under one presbytery."

Mr. *Rutherford* began first, and answered an argument of Mr. *Goodwin,* given in yesterday; thus: 1. That the apostles did baptize and govern the church, as ordinary pastors; but baptizing and governing through all the world, this they did as apostles. 2. That what the apostles did in "collegio," they did as elders; and what they did extra, as speaking with tongues and doing miracles, they did as apostles. 3. What they did "interveniente ecclesia," they did as elders: for had they done it as apostles, they would have done it without this intervention; but they ordained deacons "interveniente ecclesia." Paul excommunicated Hymeneus and Alexander as an apostle, because he did it alone; but the incestuous person at Corinth he would excommunicate "interveniente ecclesia."

Mr. *Goodwin* rejoined again: 1. The ground whereon they baptized in the whole world, they did it in Jerusalem; *ergo,* as apostles: and the interest whereby the apostles were governors through the world and here, was the same. 2. When Paul laid hands on Timothy, he was in "collegio," and yet he saith, "laying on of my hands." And the Scripture gives no ground of difference, betwixt their acting as apostles and as elders. 3. Some presbytery joined with Paul in excommunicating of Hymeneus.

Mr. *Rutherford* replied again, and denied that Paul laid his hands on Timothy, not as an apostle: it is indeed ascribed to him, because he gave the Holy Ghost; and had he come to Corinth about the incestuous person, he had but one suffrage in his excommunication.

Mr. *Gattaker* conceived we were now got a little besides our work, and therefore desired we might return flatly to our proposition.

Mr. *Marshal* shewed, that the argument in hand was to the purpose; because proving the apostles acting as presbyters, sheweth it was a presbytery. And he went on in some answer to Mr. *Goodwin:*—The thing done by the apostles, and place where done, are to be distinguished; in the place.

they acted as apostles, but the thing done they did as elders.

As the Lord-keeper is justice through England, yet when he comes to sit upon any bench in the country, by that privilege, yet sate he there only as justice, not as Lord-keeper.

Mr. *Rutherford* again: What any apostle did as the apostles did, perfectly and entirely single; and so if they had ordained the deacons in that capacity, the deacons must have been made twelve times over.

Mr. *Gillespie:* Either the apostles, in those ordinary acts of government, did them as apostles or elders; if as elders, "est quod volumus," for elders act properly in an eldership; if as apostles, then these absurdities follow: 1. They then did not act in that power which was given them in Matt. xviii. for that institution is for us as for them; now we act as elders. 2. Then what they did, cannot be a pattern to us; for it is paradox that we may imitate them in preaching, praying, administering of sacraments; and yet not in church-government.

In the apostles' ordaining there were two acts: one of giving the office, and the Holy Ghost:—now, giving the Holy Ghost was extraordinary, and so proper to apostles; but to give the office is common to the elders.

Mr. *Bridges:* The apostles might agree "simul," but not "in collegio:" for there is a main difference. 2. They may agree as apostles, "interveniente ecclesia," as their χειροτονία, in Act. xiv. 3. They might be a pattern to us in regard of the thing done, but not in regard of the power doing; as Christ was in many things.

Mr. *Gillespie* answered him: In all ordinary things they are patterns to us in the power; and why not in this?

Dr. *Burgess:* It is granted, it seems, that the acts of a presbytery were done in Jerusalem: let this first be concluded upon, and then we doubt not but to conclude the other.

Mr. *Seaman,* also, called home to our proposition.

Mr. *Palmer* did the like; but desired that the medium that we have in hand, might be followed, as making good way to the proposition before us. And this motion cost us some long debate: at last we fell of moulding of a proposition to fall upon; and after a long agitation of the business and many propositions offered, this at last was voted, That

this should be debated, "That there was a presbyterial government in the church of Jerusalem before the dispersion."

Then did Mr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Corbet* bring in the letters from the classes of Zealand, translated: and they were read; but first there was some canvass about the manner of it, whether they should be read both in Latin and English, or in English only; at last it was concluded, the translation only was read; and the Latin copy was given into the hands of the Independents to go along with it; because the letter in a special manner, in some part of it, doth nearly concern them. When the letter was read, we adjourned till the afternoon, without doing any thing about it, because it was now very late.

Afternoon.]—Our first work was about the letter from Zealand, viz. from the church of Walachria [Walcheren?], which came on Monday, and was translated and read to-day; and a committee was chosen to transmit it, and our own letters thither, to the House of Commons: and withal it was ordered that the same committee should take to their thoughts how those churches should be satisfied in the general sense of the Assembly, as concerning the Apology.

And here came in mention of the dangerous book called the "Cool conference," which is partially written; and which cost some warm debatings; but at last it was ordered, that for the present the committee should draw up something to present to the Houses to clear us from having any hand in the Apology; and this business cost some hot agitation before it could be concluded, but at last it was voted.

Then fell we upon our proposition about a presbyterial government in Jerusalem, before the dispersion; and there was a good long silence before any one spake to it, and it was called to the question.

At last Mr. *Seaman* spake to it; and desired that we might fix upon some medium by which to prove the proposition, whether by apostles being presbyters, or by their uncertainty of staying in Jerusalem; and consequently they were bound to provide elders, &c.

Mr. *Palmer:* It was the institution of Christ, that there should be ruling elders, as well as teachers, *ergo.*

Mr. *Gattaker:* The apostles' ordaining deacons did institute an office in the church which was not before, and it was an apostolic action.

This argument Mr. *Rutherford* answered, and Mr. *Gattaker* replied; and he rejoined.

Thursday, March 7.]—This morning we began where we left, and Mr. *Bridges* first began, and first refuted these arguments.

1. From Acts vi. The apostles might act as apostles, and yet the church intervene, as Gal. ii., Paul went up by revelation, and yet he went by the intervening of the church. Paul had four journeys to Jerusalem, Acts ix. xi. xv. xx. and this was to the council.

2. An extraordinary call may have the intervention of the people, as in the call of Saul, David, Matthias, and Paul, Act. xiii.

2. From Acts vi. A thing done may be ordinary, and yet done in an ordinary way; and the apostles did nothing ordinary, either in preaching or baptizing.

3. A bare action done by the apostles, could not be a rule, take it precise in itself; yet in regard that God would have their example to be a rule, we are to imitate them, though we do not do it as we do.

As thus, Christ is to be imitated, and yet he did things as God-man.

2. The apostles ordained in all churches; this holds out this to us, that ordination is to be in all churches:—but no copy to us to ordain everywhere.

3. When they baptized and ordained, they performed a part of their commission, "Baptize all nations:" now we do not the thing with that extent of commission.

3. Their being called elders, had not the formality of eldership in it; as Christ, a pastor, king, &c. had not the very formality of these in it.

4. The apostles' stay at Jerusalem was not so uncertain as it is pretended; and when they were scattered, yet some of them were always there.

Then did he give these reasons against our matter in hand:

1. It is contrary to Acts vi. for it is said, "The twelve called the multitude," *ergo*, not the presbytery; for there were no more joined with them.

2. Here was no ruling elder; for those that called them together, would follow the word and prayer.

3. They were set before the apostles, and they laid their hands upon them.

2. Paul carries things otherwise: Gal. i. and ii. "I went not to Jerusalem," &c. "Other of the apostles I saw none," &c. "When they perceived the grace given to me," &c. *ergo*, he went not a presbyterial way.

3. The apostles' commission was, "Go teach all nations, and baptize;" *ergo*, they did these things as apostles.

4. This was prejudicial to the church, that they, when they had planted churches, should then vote and act in a fallible way.

5. If they ruled as a presbytery, then the presbytery had power over an apostle, the fallible over an infallible.

Mr. *Seaman* first answered,—but only to his reasons: and when he had done, Mr. *Bridges* replied.

Mr. *Marshal* also answered him: That Paul came not to Jerusalem to be instructed or installed in his apostleship; for his call was without any such dependence upon the rest of the apostles.

Mr. *Goodwin:* The apostles might err in acts of government, but this doth not take away but they are apostles still; for they still had power in all churches, although they might err, yet it will be hard to say they were subject to excommunication; yet one apostle might withdraw from another, as Paul and Barnabas.

If the apostles acted both as apostles and elders, then they acted as single, and so the ground of presbytery is quelled.

Mr. *Herle* answered him, from Matt. xviii. "If thy brother offend thee;" it holds as well if thou offend thy brother; and here the apostle is within the compass of "dic ecclesiæ," and of excommunication if they had or could have deserved it.

Dr. *Gouge* checked the saying, "that the apostles were fallible in point of government."

Mr. *Herrick:* There was an apostle which was a devil, *ergo*, must have been excommunicate.

Mr. *Burroughs* required to have it proved, that what the apostles did, they did it as a presbytery.

Mr. *Palmer:* Here is one church in mention, and here are the elders of that church convened; and what else is a presbytery?

Mr. *Rutherford:* If this act done were not done in "presbyterio," it were not done according to order.

Mr. *Woodcock* tendered this syllogism: Where many presbyters belonging to the church, are met together about church-government, there is a presbytery; but,—*ergo*.

Mr. *Bridges:* Here were not elders formally, but eminently; *ergo*, not a formal presbytery.

Mr. *Vines:* There is a *συνέδριον* of apostles here met to perform a presbyterial act; and what doth this differ from a presbytery: but only we do *λογομαχεῖν*. And the opponents do challenge this place in Acts vi. for the ordaining in their single congregations; and why not we to our classical presbytery?

It was now called to the question, when Mr. *Sympson* interposed: That all the actions of the apostles, in acts of apostles, are ascribed to them as apostles. Peter and John are called elders, but not ordinary ones; for they ruled in all churches.

2. If the apostles were formerly elders; then they had two commissions.

3. It is hard to distinguish of these acts, what was presbyterial, what was apostolical: distinguishable not by the works done, not by the power, not by the conjunction of others with them.

Mr. *Herle:* "Idem, quatenus idem, agit distinctè ad alterum:" *ergo*, they did not act the same act both as apostles and elders; but that they were formal elders, he pleaded from Peter's and John's calling themselves so: and he answered Mr. *Sympson*, from point to point.

Dr. *Temple:* Christ doth clearly distinguish the offices of apostles and elders, Eph. iv. *ergo*, the apostles could not be formal elders.

Here it was called to the question, and there was much interposition: among others, Mr. *Woodcock* tendered this argument to prove them elders; because it is but an accidental difference betwixt apostles and them: and this accidental difference was only in extent. But this was slighted by the Assembly.

Mr. *Reynolds:* The apostles did not here meet to give any power or credit to their actions, for the same followed any one of them single; but they did it for example.

Mr. *Carter:* They did it as apostles, otherwise it was not a pattern.

At last it came with much ado to the question, and was

voted, that the apostles did the ordinary acts of presbyters, as presbyters, in the church of Jerusalem; and that this shall be brought to prove the presbyterial government at Jerusalem. And now we were contriving what to fall upon next, and it cost some time: at last we concluded and adjourned.

Friday, March 8.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer. Our first work this morning was upon one Mr. *Argall,* who was sent to us from the committee of sequestrations, to be examined concerning his fitness in ministry; and required not a certificate of his good life, but reserved it to themselves. This cost some debate, but at last was laid by.

Then fell we upon this proposition: "The several congregations in Jerusalem, being one church, and the elders of that church being mentioned as meeting together in matters of church-government, doth prove a presbyterial government there."

Mr. *Marshal* offered to prove a presbytery before the dispersion; but before he could be admitted, it cost some time. At last being admitted, he gave it thus: The church of Jerusalem before the dispersion had the true form of government, and this form was but one, and this one form was presbyterial. Matt. xviii.

But this was utterly disliked by the Assembly; and so we fell upon our proposition. The Independents objected that "they met for acts of government," is not yet proved.

Dr. *Burgess* gave this syllogism: Those who met for the settling of the peace of the church, met for acts of government. But,—so Acts xv. *ergo.*

Mr. *Goodwin* denied both propositions; whereupon the doctor glossed upon the text at large.

Mr. *Herrick* added, That they settled the government of the church by decrees.

Mr. *Gillespie:* Acts xi. All the elders received the alms jointly, for none might receive it single: as for Acts xv. it was a synod rather than a presbytery. But chap. xxi. 19, is a clear evidence for presbytery. Now, though this be so clear there, yet is it no less sure in reason, and by the confession of the Independents, who say elders do not their duty, unless it be "in collegio."

Mr. *Goodwin:* Where elders are, there must be an elder-

ship: but where divers elders of several congregations are met, *quæritur*, if they make an eldership, or presbytery. And you must prove that these were fixed churches, and that the presbytery did admonish, censure, and excommunicate. In Acts xv. they only declare that the parties are perverters of the faith, but more they could not do.

It was now urged, and urged again, that they might answer to Mr. *Gillespie's* argument.

Mr. *Goodwin* answered thus: This church of Jerusalem was but one congregation: but grant them many, yet are they called one church, in reference to something else besides government.

Mr. *Marshal:* It is every where in Scripture called but one church.

Mr. *Gillespie:* There could be no other notion whereby the congregations could be one church, but only government.

Mr. *Selden* moved, That we might fall upon the texts proposed: and this was embraced by some, but not by others; and this cost some time before we could settle: nor could we do it till it was put to the question, and it was voted that the former argument should be prosecuted: but the Independents opposed it, for it pinched. So we fell upon it.

Mr. *Marshal:* That church which had power of government, the elders of that church must meet to perform acts of government, or else they did not do their office: but Jerusalem was so; *ergo*.

Mr. *Burroughs* denied the minor.

Then Mr. *Marshal* said, No other church had it: for then would it be somewhere mentioned.

Mr. *Goodwin:* No more are many congregations mentioned there.

Here he went up and down, and much was spoken 'pro et contra,' at last Mr. *Seaman* proposed this argument: That if the elders of the congregations did not associate in government, then were they Independents; but not, *ergo*. But this was laid by, and Mr. *Gillespie* gave this argument in pursuit of the other: Those who were not one ecclesiastical body, excepting by government, were not one church, but in respect of government: but,—*ergo*.

The minor he proved thus: 1. Their dwelling in one town made them a civil body, but not ecclesiastical. 2. Their

ecclesiastical union could not be but in presbytery: for what visible union else could there be: for, 1. they could not meet together in one.

Mr. *Burroughs* denied the minor.

Mr. *Gillespie:* They were one ecclesiastical visible body; *ergo.*

Mr. *Seaman:* Either they were one or many political bodies: but not many; *ergo,* "Minor probatur." If many, then the apostles and elders were fixed unto congregations independently; but not; *ergo.*

The consequence was denied.

He proved it thus: There was no other way or means possible to make the congregations in Jerusalem independent, but by fixing the apostles or elders to several congregations independently. Here the Independents cavilled. At last Mr. *Goodwin* said, they might be liable, in some cases, to censure from one another. There is not this political power, in one presbytery, to excommunicate another; but one presbytery may take recognizance of the miscarriage of another, call them to account, and declare it, and withdraw from them.

This, Mr. *Seaman* said truly, every private man in the world hath this power, towards every church in the world.

Mr. *Goodwin:* The two things that make up excommunication, are, 1. To withdraw. 2. To deliver up to Satan. The former they grant, the latter they do not.

Mr. *Nye:* The keys of doctrine are in the hands of a synod or assembly; for they are more than a single man: they have authority, "propriè dicta," but not jurisdiction, "propriè dicta."

Here Mr. *Vines* took out and up what had fallen from the Independents, and how near they were come towards us, and hoped some accommodation might be betwixt us; this was backed by Mr. *Foxcraft,* Mr. *Case,* and others; but Mr. *Marshal* conceived "hoc aliquid" to be very little: and that this was little satisfaction to Mr. *Seaman's* argument.

Mr. *Goodwin:* 1. Many men, as men, have more moral power than one man. 2. Many churches joining in this is much more. 3. This being found Christ's institution is most of all.

Mr. *Seaman,* out of Cameron, shewed there is, 1. "Po-

testas minima," when an inferior may admonish a superior. 2. "Proxima minimæ," when equals may admonish one another. 3. "Potestas doctoris," reverence in regard of his gravity; and this is the due the Independents give to other presbyteries.

Here Dr. *Burgess* reported the message drawn up by the committee to clear us to the two Houses, of the Apology, that the Zealand churches take so distastefully.

Mr. *Nye* first made some exceptions against it: as, 1. What necessity those letters have given of this message. 2. Whether some passages in it do not charge the Apologists with some breach of a parliament-order.

To the first I answered, That whereas we sent to the churches beyond sea to bemoan our condition, and to crave their aid, to have such a return, requires vindication to those churches; now this we cannot do without the liberty of the two Houses.

Mr. *Goodwin* and his partners were very earnest to stop the business, and desired a long debate upon it: at last it was put to the question, whether a clause in it, which was this, "The Assembly having religiously kept the order of the Houses in this kind," should be left out, as seeming to charge the Apologists with violating that order, and it was voted it should be left out. Then they took offence at some other expressions; especially this, "that the Walachrian churches complain:" this was tried by a vote, and voted that the word "complain" should stand. When this was done, there were still new cavils found again, which kept us a long time about this business. At last, with much ado, it was voted to pass: and so we adjourned till afternoon.

Afternoon.]—We fell again upon our work, about Mr. *Seaman's* argument. But first some overtures were made of accommodation, and by Mr. *Henderson* among others; which was driven on with such persuasions, that these six were chosen for it, Mr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Bridges*, Mr. *Burroughs;* but it was long before it could be resolved on what they were to do.

Now was Mr. *Rutherford's* sermon, preached before the House of Commons at the fast, in January, given to every one of us.

Upon farther motion, Mr. *Marshal* and Mr. *Nye* were added to the committee:—and upon motion we were ready

to adjourn, when Mr. *Palmer* urged that we might conclude upon the argument we had in hand in the forenoon; but being put to the question, it was voted to adjourn.

Monday, March 11.]—This day I was at Munden; but the business in the Assembly, as I understood the next morning, was, that there was more moving for accommodation betwixt us and the Independents: but still the debate about the presbytery went on; and, in the conclusion, these places, Acts xi. and xv. and xx. were voted to be brought to prove, that the several congregations in Jerusalem were under one presbyterial government.

Tuesday, March 12.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer, out of 1 Tim. iii. 7.

Being set, the first thing done was, that my Lord of *Warwick* motioned and urged that we would help him to some divines to go with him to sea.

Whereupon Dr. *Burgess* made a motion, that after this day's work we might return to the business of ordination: and Mr. *Marshal* added, that some that are candidates, might be sent to go along with him, though as yet not in orders; and Mr. *Nye* added, that a day might be designed wherein every one of the Assembly should bring in the names of whom he knows, either in orders or out:—and this was backed by Mr. *Sedgwick;* but Dr. *Gouge* and Dr. *Smith* moved that we should hearken only for those in orders; and this Mr. *Palmer* followed and backed with a great deal of enforcement; and this business cost us some long debate: and at last it was ordered, that every one of us should bring in the names of whom we know, fit for that employment, on Tuesday next.

After this, Mr. *De la March* reported of the receipt of our letters in the church of France; how they durst not open them, till they had imparted the business to state; who took it ill that those churches should hold any correspondence with England in those times; and so the letters still lie, and the churches not acquainted with them, and not known what may become of this matter. Whereupon some members of the Assembly were appointed to acquaint the House of Commons with this business, and to desire the letters might be printed.

Then fell we upon the xvth of the Acts, to be brought to prove that those elders met for acts of government.

Mr. *Nye:* They did not meet in this relation, because their results extended beyond the presbytery.

Dr. *Gouge:* The resolving of difficult cases belong to a classical presbytery. 1. Here is a standing presbytery. 2. They gathered more company when they saw the case so large.

Mr. *Bridges:* The ministers may lay a burden of duty upon men, and yet not of government; and he read it thus, "That no other burden be laid upon you."

Mr. *Seaman* denied the consequence: for that to do a thing doctrinally is to do it authoritatively.

Mr. *Rutherford:* The power dogmatical in one single person, and in a synod, is very different; and there is a juridical censure of those that would have brought in circumcision: and if this synod had not checked these, they had incurred the reproof that the churches of Laodicea, &c. do, in Rev. ii. 3, for not stopping the mouth of false teachers.

Mr. *Vines:* This thing, done here by the council, is final and decisive; and that that is authority determining here: 1. There is a dogmatic point about keeping of the law. 2. A didactic; that they should abstain from such and such things.

Mr. *Gattaker:* The business began upon occasion of a dogmatical question; but when they were together they go to another thing; and φυλάσσειν, Acts xvi. 4, argues practice. But he conceives no general council to be held in this chapter.

Mr. *Gillespie:* This decree comes not from the apostles as apostles, but as elders among the elders. All the churches in the world could not be bound formally, because their elders were not present; so the churches of Syria and Cilicia only. That there is a power here is no doubt. 1. "Dogmatica;" for here was heresy. 2. "Critica;" for here was a schism, Διάστασις. 3. "Diatactica;" for he was "periculum scandali;" a difference between Jew and Gentile. James only fell upon the case of scandal, whereas Peter and Paul had spoke only to the case of heresy.

Mr. *Goodwin:* 1. This act of theirs was not of government to the church of Jerusalem; *ergo,* the proof is not pregnant.

And this was not an act of government; for, 1. They send brethren that they may lay open the ground of this

determination, Acts xvi. 4; *ergo*, it was persuasive, and not authoritative.

2. The things were ἐπάναγκες, *id est*, over and above necessary. And they do only doctrinally declare this, but not authoritatively impose it.

3. The ground of their sending, was, because false teachers had pretended they had received command from the apostles; i. e. they had heard the apostles say the law of Moses was to be kept; *ergo*, they send to see whether the apostles were of this mind or no.

4. If κρίνω import authority, then James alone should have it; for he saith ἐγὼ κρίνω.

5. Here are not only apostles and elders, but brethren too; *ergo*, when it is said, "It seemed good to us and the Holy Ghost," it cannot be authority, unless you give the church authority.

6. Δόγματα, comes from ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν.

7. The dogmatic, critical, and diatactic are only doctrinal.

8. They do not excommunicate the false teachers; but remit them to the places of their abode, to deal with them accordingly.

9. The burden was in respect of the matter, not of the authority; and compare ver. 10, it makes it clear.

10. If there be any power here, it is apostolic power.

Mr. *Herle:* That the thing here is matter of government. 1. The occasion here is not heresy but offence. 2. Here is a difference which one apostle could not determine; *ergo*, not doctrine: only, 3. The persons sent are designed, and had something conferred upon them by the church; *ergo*, for something above doctrine. 4. The convention at Jerusalem argues more than doctrinal; for any one apostle could determine that. 5. The decree was provisional and prudential, because occasional; for if it had been doctrinal, it bound us till now. 6. This was done as Moses did by these things; but Moses delivered these authoritatively.

Mr. *Seaman* urged again, that the Independents would prove that doctrine is not of government.

Mr. *Nye* answered, that the ordinance that calls us together, doth plainly distinguish betwixt doctrine and government.

Here we had a long and smart debate upon this and other points, which held us very long. At last it was even putting

to the question, when Mr. *Goodwin* desired a longer time, which was backed by Mr. *Rutherford;* and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, March 13.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

Being set, Dr. *Gouge* moved for our speedy meeting in the morning.

Then fell we again upon Acts xv.

Mr. *Goodwin* first moved, to prove that this meeting was for the government of Jerusalem.

To this I answered, that these churches would never have sent for determination of points of government for them, had they not known the presbytery constantly sitting at Jerusalem, for acts of government of their own church.

To this Mr. *Bridges* answered, That then it was no synod. They met for acts of government finally, to find out the truth; but not formally, to exercise the acts of government.

To this I answered again, that the consequences doth not hold. It was a presbytery before; *ergo,* no synod now. 2. That their meeting about the Pharisees in Jerusalem, that were of the same mind with them at Antioch, which he had said did make this consequence, that then they met for the government of their own church. 3. That this doth infer their act of government formally, that Paul and Barnabas, ministers of the circumcision, come to Jerusalem, to question about a business which concerned the converted Gentiles. Now if it had been only to find out the truth, Peter and James, ministers of the circumcision, had been most fit to have determined this point with them: why then should they convene the elders, if not for an act of government?

Mr. *Seaman* backed me, and spoke at large upon some other things.

Mr. *Rutherford* answered to Mr. *Bridges* also: That the adequate end of this synod was to determine upon points of scandal, and to condemn them that had given them, and not only to resolve this question.

Mr. *Herle:* 1. The matter here is an ecclesiastical constitution or law: and these two things make it so: 1. Sanction; 2. Obligation. The sanction in these words, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." The obligation, no doubt, lay upon the Gentiles, or else it was decreed in vain.

Mr. *Burroughs* retorted this argument of Mr. *Seaman*

upon himself. "Those acts that bound other churches, bound the church of Jerusalem;" he thus retorted, Those acts that bound the church of Jerusalem, no otherwise than other churches, were no acts of government; but, *ergo*.

Mr. *Vines* answered: The question is περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν.

Mr. *Calamy:* There is a fallacy in this argument; for that this place is doubly taken, some for an extraordinary synod, some for an ordinary.

Mr. *Herle* denied the major; for that it might be an act of presbyterial government, and apostolic both.

Mr. *Vines:* The propositions are both negative, and "ex puris negativis non concluditur."

Mr. *Gillespie:* Those decrees did not equally bind the church of Jerusalem and all the churches in the world; for here was an ordinary synod; then none could not be formally bound, but those who had their commissioners here: it is said, indeed, that all the Gentiles might be bound either "respectu materiæ," or "potestate apostolica," but not "formali obligatione synodi."

When they say ἔδοξε τῷ πνεύματι, &c. it is because they had proved the thing affirmed from the conversion of the Gentiles, from miracles, and from scripture: and Dr. *Whittacre* saith, That any synod, grounding upon undoubted scripture, may say so. And he proved the apostles did not here act as apostles: 1. For then Paul and Barnabas could not have been sent by the church of Antioch: for then the power of the church had been above the apostles. But Paul and Barnabas, in the way they act, are subject to the presbytery at Antioch. 2. In this debating they were not infallibly acted by the Holy Ghost: as appeareth, 1. Because Peter speaks short of the removing of the scandal, but only he speaks of the point of justification. 2. He is moderated by James.

3. Here is the form of an ordinary synod. 1. Here are commissioners from Antioch. 2. The elders are in it as well as apostles. 3. Things are carried by debate. 4. After the deliberative voice, they make a decisive voice, and promulgate it.

4. If the apostles decreed this as apostles, then this decree might not be tried by the judgment of discretion; but here it may, because elders are joined with them. And then he answered Mr. *Goodwin's* arguments that he had

urged yesterday, from point to point. And among things, he conceived that the word "brethren," in Acts xv. doth not signify the whole church, but some preachers besides the apostles and elders: for, ver. 22, Judas and Silas are called chief men among the brethren, who were preachers: so is the phrase, 2 Cor. viii. 22, 23; for the whole church could not be present. But if "brethren" mean the whole church, then it is to be understood of their being acquainted with the decree, and their liking of it.

Mr. *Vines* again excepted at Mr. *Burroughs'* syllogism, and turned it into Latin, and would find it negative; but the Assembly hardly agreed with him in it.

Mr. *Seaman:* These decrees did not bind all, quâ presbyterial, but quâ synodical.

Mr. *Goodwin* would have spoken, but for a while could not satisfy the Assembly that he was speaking to the proposition before us: at last he spake to this purpose:

1. If they met as a synod, then not as an eldership; for here they were cast in, in common with the other elders: and this did constitute a new government in the church of Jerusalem.

2. Beza makes ver. 5 to be the speech of Paul relating what was done at Antioch. If the Pharisees had risen up before these men came from Antioch, then was it a neglect of the church to meet no sooner: or it may be there was some occasion at home concurring, which concerned their own church; but then you must distinguish their acts, what they did for their own church, and what for the other.

3. Dogmatical and doctrinal declaring is not an act of government; because by an act of government we understand the whole matter of jurisdiction. Although there be a dogmatical power, yet there is not a penal power.

4. The elders in Jerusalem had power in their own church; but if they were many congregations, you must find them exercising the same power over them that they did over the other churches; but here is no excommunication, which is properly jurisdiction.

5. The elders of Jerusalem could have no share of jurisdiction over all the churches.

6. The same acts may be done in a congregation single, and in a synod; and yet one want the formal power that another hath.

7. It is plain that this distinction ought to be in council, "ego dissentiens subscribo, et ego consentiens;" for here the brethren, yea the elders, could not subscribe or vote, as the apostles did.

8. This epistle of the council is formal scripture, for it is for our instruction.

9. Upon choosing of arbitrators there is obligation and not jurisdiction; and so was it here. This is not an ordinary synod; for,

1. Here are but two churches, Antioch and Jerusalem; and though they travelled through Phœnice and Samaria, yet they took no elders thence; nay, it is not express that there were any elders from Antioch: and in chap. xvi. 4, mention is only of the elders of Jerusalem. If that Silas was sent to Antioch, it argues they had not sent elders.

2. The elders of Jerusalem are only judges; *ergo*, no elders from elsewhere.

3. They say, "We gave them no command." Now this cannot be elders of other places; for when were they met before?

4. They needed not to have sent brethren to the churches, if their elders had been present.

"It seemed good to us and the Holy Ghost;" i. e. to us, being guided by the Holy Ghost: as Paul, "I think I have the Spirit of God."

And he answered Mr. *Gillespie's* reasons,—that the apostles did not act as apostles:

1. Paul and Barnabas were parties in this question, and the church sent them not in an authoritative way, but thought it necessary they should go up.

And they two are included under the phrase 'apostles,' in "apostles and elders."

2. To speak infallibly was proper in an apostle, but not to speak all the truth at once, especially when other apostles were by; and so Peter might speak as an apostle, yet not speak to the whole matter.

3. These decrees might be examined, though it be still said "apostles and elders."

And then he proved they acted as apostles; thus:—

1. They are distinguished from the elders by the name of the "apostles."

2. They are either elders, if elders, of this particular church, or of all the world; but neither these.

3. "We gave no such command;" these words suit not with elders: and, "so it seemed good to us and to the Holy Ghost."

4. Though they used reasons in their arguing, yet doth not that infringe their apostleship; for they were to shew the analogy of the New Testament with the Old.

Then did he fall upon the arguments given to the contrary, to give answer to them, and spake very long.

As soon as ever he had done, it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, that Acts xv. 4, 6, 22, should be brought to prove that clause in the proposition, "elders meeting in acts of government."

After which, Dr. *Gouge* read Mr. *Coleman*, of the Tower, his submission, for his presuming to give orders to Mr. *Belcher:* and it was desired that something might be drawn up, and ordered, for his acquitting and our satisfaction; but it was not thought fit: and so we were adjourning till to-morrow, when Mr. *Palmer* moved, that it might be determined, "That this proposition is proved, which we have had so long in hand;" and this cost some debate; and the Independents opposed it, and again and again spake and respake, and stopt, and it came to a very hot agitation: at last it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, "That the instance of the church of Jerusalem shall be brought to prove, that many several congregations may be under one presbyterial government."

Then fell out a large debate what to fall upon to-morrow; and at last it was concluded we should take in hand the report of the second committee; and so we adjourned.

Thursday, March 14.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

Being set, our first work was, that Mr. *Palmer* reported from the committee appointed for the accommodation between the Independents and us, thus:

1. That there be a presbytery, or meeting of many neighbouring congregations' elders to consult upon such things as concern those congregations, in matters ecclesiastical: and such presbyteries are the ordinances of Christ, having his power and authority.

2. Such presbyteries have power in cases that are to

come before them; to declare and determine doctrinally what is agreeable to God's word; and this judgment of theirs is to be received with reverence and obligation as Christ's ordinance.

3. They have power to require the elders of those congregations to give an account of any thing scandalous in doctrine or practice.

Then did Mr. *Palmer* move for the continuance of this committee, to proceed upon these beginnings: which cost some debate; for some put in this argument against it, That it would anticipate the work of the Assembly by taking into hand the matter of censures: but at last it was ordered that the committee should go on, having liberty to take into consideration any thing that may tend to accommodation, and to make report on when conveniently may be.

Then Dr. *Burgess*, being to-day in the chair, moved for our earlier meeting in the morning: and it was ordered there should be no sermon after nine o'clock.

Then began we upon this proposition of the second committee.

1. "There is one general church visible held forth in the New Testament." 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13, and xv. 9.

Mr. *Nye* excepted at the difficulty of the terms, for that if we take the church for any political body, he denied it. This cost some debate.

Mr. *Goodwin* suspected there might be some snare in this proposition: for some, saith he, "rise to church-government, 'ascendendo,' from particular congregations to the church universal, some 'e contra descendendo;' *ergo*, there may be some scruple and entanglement in this business." Whereupon the whole report of the committee was read to give him satisfaction; which being done, Mr. *Vines* urged, Let follow what can, if it be the truth, and may serve for truths to follow, we are not to refuse it: and the church is called visible, in regard, 1. Of profession; 2. Of communion of this profession, not under any one visible pastor, but in regard of the community of ordinances.

Here Dr. *Burgess* moved, that we might adjourn for a very little space, for that he was troubled with the cholic, which we did. When he was come in again, Mr. *Herle* spoke for the proposition, that we might not stand upon it; and so did Mr. *Rutherford* thus: The 'body' in 1 Cor. xii. must

needs be a politic body, and the universal catholic church; for ver. 28 so explains it: and there is a third opinion besides those two mentioned by Mr. *Goodwin*, of "ascendendo" and "descendendo," which is, that "ecclesia presbyterialis" is "ecclesia prima." And for his part he conceived that the church catholic is "totum integrale," and what power is given to it is neither "ascendendo," nor "descendendo," but immediately from Christ upon every part; as life "ordine naturæ," is in the whole body, as the integral; but the life of every member "ordine temporis," is immediately to every part.

Mr. *Seaman* here moved also, that a second report of the second committee might be read for farther satisfaction to the jealous party; which was done accordingly: which being done, Mr. *Selden* reported a message, and brought an order from the House of Commons, for the printing of our letters to the churches beyond the seas: which was ordered accordingly.

Then fell we upon our proposition, and it was called to the question; when Mr. *Nye* interposed, and excepted against the order of the proposition, though not against the truth.

Mr. *Rutherford:* This visible church in 1 Cor. xii. 28, is either a particular congregation, or the general church, or one "intermedia;" but neither the first, nor the last; *ergo.*

It was again called to the question, to see whether it be truth; when Mr. *Goodwin* interposed, and doubted still a snare in it: and desired to have the word 'politic' put, and then to debate it.

Mr. *Herle* moved to put this proposition and the second together; but that was not liked.

Mr. *Goodwin* again urged the ambiguity of this proposition; and would not be satisfied. And so did Mr. *Nye* interpose again and again, when the business was going to the question: and he said that the proposition would urge an appeal to a general council, which he thought of ill consequence.

To which Mr. *Rutherford* answered, That none of our divines condemned Luther for appealing to a general council from Leo the Tenth.

At last it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively,

"That this proposition should be put to the question in 'terminis.'"

And the proposition being again put to the question, it was also voted affirmatively, "nemine contradicente."

Then fell we upon the proof, 1 Cor. xii. 13, 14. 28.

Mr. *Carter* here, from the word "spirit," understood the body invisible.

Mr. *Seaman* answered, that it meaneth a spiritual society.

Mr. *Goodwin*: By "spirit" is here meant the Holy Ghost; *ergo*, it speaketh of the invisible body.

Among others I answered that the apostle here speaks of the embodying of Jews and Gentiles, ver. 12; and to this he limiteth ver. 2, "Ye were Gentiles;" and ver. 27, μέλη ἐκ μέρους, i. e. "Ye were members of one part of that body;" viz. of Gentiles: others also spake to this at large. At last Mr. *Vines* moved, that the whole chapter might be taken, and this was ready to go to the question, when Mr. *Rutherford* opposed it, and called for an answer to the argument that had been given for the verses pointed out. And hereon grew some debate, which held a good while. At last it was put to the question, "Whether these verses should be put to the question, and voted affirmatively?" and being put to the question, it was voted affirmatively. Then was it put also to the question, "Whether these words, together with the rest of the chapter, should be added?" and it was voted affirmatively; and so we adjourned.

Friday, March 15.]—This morning, Mr. *Ash* brought in a letter from my Lord of *Manchester*, and withal articles against Drs. *Beale, Cosins, Sterne, Lang, Martin*, to shew the just cause of his casting them out of their masterships; and withal nominating Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Arrowsmith*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Seaman*, and Mr. *Young*, in their places, if the Assembly should think fit: and withal he reported at large of the good progress of the covenant in those parts: and of my Lord's proceeding in the university in several particulars; and his request to us to hasten ordination. His relation was very long and large; which when he had done, Dr. *Burgess* made a long answer of gratulation, &c. and urged exceedingly for the hastening of ordination: and withal desired that the members of our Assembly nominated by the Earl might not be dismissed from the Assembly, but attend the service

here; to which Mr. *Ash* answered, that it was my Lord's intention to withdraw them from us.

These businesses took up a great part of the morning; at last Dr. *Burgess* and Mr. *Hill* were appointed to draw up a letter of thanks and satisfaction to his Lordship; and withal an order was drawn up for our testifying with our five members; but Mr. *Vines* and Mr. *Young* desired that they might be excused, but this they were referred to deal with my Lord of *Manchester:* and it was put to the vote, and voted in the approval of my Lord of *Manchester's* choice; but we had a great deal of tussle from the Independents, before we could conclude upon the business.

Then was a motion made about falling upon ordination; and this cost a great deal of debate: at last it was resolved to fall upon it on Monday, and so we adjourned till then.

Monday, March 18.]—This morning we had a sermon by a probationer.

Being set, Mr. *Ley* read divers letters from my Lord of *Manchester,* for admission of some men to benefices, and for their examination here: whereupon Dr. *Burgess* moved, that his Lordship might be desired to be careful that none there [*] renounce their orders and livings,which was ordered accordingly, that the committee appointed for answer to my Lord's letter should recommend it to his Lordship.

Then Dr. *Temple,* chairman of the third committee, reported concerning ordination. 1. That none ought to take upon him the office of a minister without a lawful call, John iii. 27, Rom. x. 14, 15, Jer. xiv. 4, Heb. v. 4. 2. That none be ordained to that office without a designation to such particular congregation or charge, Acts xiv. 23, Tit. i. 3, Acts xx. 17. 28.

To the full and orderly calling of a minister, are requisite; 1. That he be duly qualified, both for life and ministerial abilities, according to 1 Tim. iii. 2—6, Tit. i. 5—9.

2. That he be examined and approved by them by whom he is to be ordained, 1 Tim. iii. 7. 10, and v. 22.

3. That by them he be recommended to the people of the congregation, where he is to be minister, and have their assent, unless they can shew just cause of exception against, Acts vi. 3.

4. That he be ordained by prayer and imposition of

hands, by such preaching presbyters, as shall be appointed for the purpose, 1 Tim. v. 22; Acts xiv. 23.

While this was in reporting, Mr. *Young's* sermon, preached before the House of Commons the last fast, was given to every one of us.

Then fell we upon our work about ordination, viz. upon the report lately read. And, 1st. The first proposition was ordered without controverting at: viz. "That none is to be admitted for a minister without a lawful calling;" and so were the Scriptures ready to be, when Dr. *Gouge* excepted against John iii. 27, as improper, and so also did Mr. *Herle:* and this cost us some debate; for that this place speaks of the immediate calling from God: but at last it was voted to pass.

Then came Rom. x. 14, 15, to agitation, and Mr. *Gattaker,* out of Calvin, urged that that place is used only of sending out men, already ordained, to preach in such and such a place, and not of ordaining men. And Mr. *Goodwin* also urged, that this, applied as we are about to do, will infer that none can be converted but by ministers; and this cost some large debate: at last it was put to the question, and voted to pass also. Jer. xiv. 14, was voted without any debate.

Then came Heb. v. 4, to examination; and Mr. *Coleman* excepted against it as speaking of Christ. Mr. *Palmer* also excepted against it as speaking of priests, not of ministers. At last it was voted; but to it I gave my negative, having suspended my vote in all the rest.

Then came we to the second proposition, "That none may be ordained to that office without designation to some particular place."

Mr. *Seaman* first spake to this, and conceived that ministers may be ordained without a designation; for that otherwise those that are without, as Heathens and Pagans, cannot be converted: but in "ecclesia stabilita," to be ordained, "sine titulo," is to be an Utopian minister: therefore he desired that something might be added to the proposition.

Dr. *Temple* answered, that the word "charge," added to the words "particular congregation," doth resolve the doubt.

Mr. *Seaman* was not so satisfied, but urged again, that

suppose the savages in New England should desire men to preach to them, were it not fit to ordain some for that purpose?

Old Mr. *Wilkinson* pleaded, that if none should be ordained, till they be fixed to some place, how will it be possible they should ever get a fixed place, when they have not given any trial of their parts?

Dr. *Burgess* added, that fellows in colleges are bound by the statutes at such a time to take orders if they will be ministers.

Mr. *Palmer:* Apollos, who is owned for a minister, 1 Cor. iii. and no evangelist, and yet he had no fixed place.

Mr. *Seaman:* If we expect a designation was before ordination, it implies an election: now what will be done in Wales, if they may not have a minister sent unto them, before he be chosen by them? For the first three hundred years, they had a college of ministers in every great city, to see to the ministry of that city without any fixed congregation.

Mr. *Ley:* Amesius saith, to ordain a minister, "sine titulo," is a ridiculous ordination; and so disgraceth our whole English ministry.

Mr. *Marshal:* In Cyprian's time, if there were never so many presbyters that preached to so many congregations, they were not "sine title."

Mr. *Calamy:* The canon in our church was not so much made for the point of ordination, that none should be ordained without a designation, but to provide for the subsistence of the ministry, and preventing of begging preachers.

Mr. *Herle:* In the primitive church, the bishop and his clergy about him lived in the city, and went up and down, as occasion called, to preach.

There is the title of office, or the title of patrimony: this latter was very abusive: and the title of office was originally for the relief or subsistence of the clergy.

Mr. *Palmer:* There is "necessitas medii," and "essentiæ:" now whether of these is this necessity of designation: it is hardly "necessitas precepti."

Dr. *Temple* answered: It is to be understood in matter of fact.

Mr. *Vines:* κατὰ πόλιν and κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν import a desig-

nation: for they are fixed ministers: and presbyter is not a word at large, as a doctor of physic, but he is "episcopus," an overseer of some fixed place.

And he cited a canon in the Chalcedon, where is utterly forbidden to be either presbyter or deacon, Ἀπολελυμένως, i. e. "solute," or without some charge.

Mr. *Marshal* proposed to bring the question to the present occasion; viz. "Whether fit gifted men may not be ordained for the navy, or to go with Sir *Thomas Middleton* into North Wales?"

Mr. *Palmer* answered, No: but the question is, "Whether a man may not be ordained 'solutissime,' if he be well and fully gifted?" and he held he might;—and he added, that if we laid down the proposition as it is, we should exclude many hundreds out of the ministry, who are now in it.

Mr. *Seaman* urged to put the proposition thus: "No man, in a settled church, to be ordained without designation to some ministerial charge."

Dr. *Smith* answered, That the word "charge," as it is taken in our English, is as doubtful and strait as the other; and therefore desired the word "employment" might be used for it.

Mr. *Vines* answered, That this would be, "idem per idem."

Dr. *Burgess* moved it again to put it "designed to a ministerial charge."

Mr. *Goodwin:* If we ordain a man to a ministerial employment in this large sense, then we must look for some such vagous office in Scripture for them. The evangelists indeed had such an office, but no presbyter; and he answered the objections that had been made against designation to fixed congregations.

This business cost us all day's debate: at last with much ado we had stated the question fit to debate it tomorrow; and so we adjourned.

Tuesday, March 19.]—This morning we fell upon our question which we had stated yesterday, to this purpose.

"No man ought to be ordained to the office of the ministry, without a designation to some particular congregation or other ministerial charge."

Mr. *Palmer* urged, That so Scriptures might be produced, that shew that God requires that none other should

be ordained: and he shewed the contrary by Apollos, who was a minister, and no evangelist; and yet not fixed to any congregation: and from 1 Cor. xvi. 12, he would prove him no evangelist, as Paul did not send Apollos, but desired him to go, and yet he went not then; which an evangelist could not have refused to have done.

Dr. *Gouge* answered, That the last words, "a ministerial charge," is so large, that it maketh no doubt.

Mr. *Nye* wished Mr. *Palmer* to prove that Apollos was ordained a minister, and that he was designed to any place.

He answered, that he was not bound so to do, because the proposition is an exclusive negative, and they that hold it must prove it: but, 1. We have voted that ordination is necessary for a minister; and then without question he was ordained. 2. His being unfixed, he proved, by his being at Ephesus and Corinth, Acts i. 8, and in Crete, Tit. iii. 15.

Dr. *Hoyle* stuck at whether Apollos were an evangelist or no, and cited the canon; and incited to caution, lest we should come to maintain those that are maintained "sine titulo."

Mr. *Nye* would not agree to the necessity of ordination.

Old Mr. *Wilkinson* offered to shew that it is not a bond fit to be laid upon the ministers of the gospel, that they should not be made ministers "sine titulo." And he shewed 1. That we ourselves, many of us, were admitted "sine titulo." 2. It is the manner of our universities to make men general preachers. 3. It is fit that men should have entrance into the ministry, to make themselves known in the world. 4. The ordination, "sine titulo," doth detract nothing from a man's moral abilities, nor they that ordain him do not offend.

Mr. *Palmer* answered Mr. *Nye:* Apollos was so long at Corinth, that one party called themselves by his name; and he is said to be a minister, and to water, and he was a minister in office; *ergo,* ordained.

Mr. *Bathurst* conceived, that Apollos was ordained, and ordained in Corinth.

Mr. *Coleman* held him not to be an ordained man, because he was only acquainted with the baptism of John, and that he had need of Priscilla and Aquila's instruction.

Mr. *Herle* conceived that to be an ordination to some particular ministerial charge.

Mr. *Young:* κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν and κατὰ πόλιν import designation to a particular place.

And he shewed out of the antiquity of the church that no ordination was without title; and if a man did not accept of that place to which he was designed, he was liable to excommunication; and Athanasius objects heavily against the Arians, for their ordination at large. He conceived that the ordination in the universities is not "ad vagum ministerium."

In the reign of Commodus, Eusebius speaks of many that preached from place to place, but still they settled ministers in the place where they went.

Dr. *Temple:* Though Apollos were an evangelist, yet the apostle would not send him imperatively, but by entreaty.

And he being the reporter of this proposition, expressed that the committee understood it in a settled church: whereupon that clause was added.

Mr. *Palmer:* 1. He nowhere is called an evangelist. 2. Some here will not grant him to be ordained. 3. If Apollos were ordained at Corinth, of all places should he have been ready to have gone thither; but he refused.

Mr. *Gillespie:* Whereas Mr. *Seaman* moved that the phrase, a "settled church," might be explained, he understood it of "ecclesia benè instituta," and "reformata." And of Apollos he held that he might very well be either a minister of the church of Corinth, or an evangelist: 1. For though he were not always at Corinth, yet might he be a minister of that church; as Epaphras was a minister of Colosse, yet was he with Paul at Rome, when he wrote that epistle. 2. Evangelist: in regard he was of so great account as to be balanced with Paul and Cephas. And he shewed the inconveniences would follow, upon being ordained "sine titulo." 1. How can he be ἡγούμενος, προϊστάμενος and ποίμην, without the "correlate."

2. Ordination is a mission, and that is "ad terminum ad quem."

3. Ordination is to an office, and not to an action: now an office relates to some upon whom to exercise.

4. "Ministerium vagum," is too like apostolic.

5. This extinguisheth the right of election.

Mr. *Calamy* argued against the proposition thus: 1. This brings a necessity of allowing men to preach before they be ordained, and lays a foundation in a settled church of preaching before ordination. 2. This takes it for granted, that election must go before ordination; which hath not yet been debated; and much may be said against it, for it is held by some to come after. 3. This brings in a necessity of a new ordination upon every new designation, for it grounds ordination so much upon designation; and makes it as the marriage of a man to a place which requires a new solemnization. 4. This makes the ordination of many ministers to be sinful and void. The council of Chalcedon says, that if any ordination be without a title, it shall be ἄκυρον.

5. This proposition seems to imply, that a minister is only a minister to that congregation to which he is designed: for his ministry depends upon his ordination, and that upon his designation.

6. This proposition shuts out a chief officer, and one of the chief offices in the ministry, namely, to gather churches; for this proposition speaks only of churches gathered. And he proved the necessity, Eph. iv. 11, 12, of gathering of churches; Matt. xx. ult. "I am with you, and your successors;" *ergo*, there must be some that must μαθητένειν.

7. This makes a ministerial church to be before a minister; for it supposeth the church gathered without a minister.

8. This is founded upon mistake of the nature of ordination: for that is not the solemnization of a man to this or that place, already elected, but it is the very setting him apart to the office.

And then he answered Mr. *Gillespie*'s arguments:

And concluded, that he desired that the Assembly would not make this designation essential to ordination; but what they do in it, to do it prudentially, to prevent a vagrant minister.

And he cited Mr. *Travers*, who on Eph. iv. understands Διδάσκαλος to be a preacher fixed to no place.

Mr. *Marshal* answered him from point to point, thus: 1. It is the apostles' canon, that those must be tried that are to be ordained.

2. There must be some election before ordination.

3. Ordination is the very conferring of the office; and needeth not to be received upon new designation.

4. Though a man's ordination were not exactly designation, yet is it not utterly void; and if it be, yet must we not decline the truth for similar ends.

5. When a man is made a minister, he is made a minister of Jesus Christ; and for his life, and so not so very fixed to this or that place.

6. This doth not shut out at all the gathering of the churches, of those who are yet strangers to it.

7. A ministerial church must be before a minister, when you speak of settled churches.

8. Be ordination either the complement of election, or separation to the office, yet it infringeth not the proposition; for no man is to enter upon that office, till Christ shew there is some need of him in the church.

Mr. *Calamy* replied upon him again, That this toleration of candidates would bring in such a multitude of them, that they and ministers would not be known asunder: and he went over all his answers, and returned something to him.

Mr. *Reynolds* moved, That we might fall upon the Scriptures, to see whether they would hold out the truth of the proposition or no.

But Mr. *Vines* answered Mr. *Calamy's* arguments, and especially touched him upon the council of Chalcedon; and out of *Mason,* said, Ordination may be "irrita" two ways: 1. In regard of order. 2. In regard of the thing itself;—as a bishop makes another man's clerk, minister; this by canon is void, not in regard of itself, but in regard of keeping order.

Mr. *Rutherford* also answered some of his arguments:—1. This nullifies not our ordination; for, there may be error in it, but not a nullity. 2. The godliest ministers that were not with designation, were sufferers in it, and could have wished it otherwise.

Ordination, in order of time, is before election, but not in order of nature; and ordination makes a man a pastor, and election makes him a pastor of such a people.

Mr. *Gillespie* also arose, and took off the answers which had been given to his arguments by Mr. *Calamy;* which, while he was in doing, the sermon of Mr. *Bayly,* one of the

Scots' commissioners, preached by him at the last fast, was given to every one of us.

Mr. *Seaman:* A minister in his calling is considerable, in relation to Christ and to the church, and of, and for the one and the other. Now, in either of these considerations, the formality of a minister's call consisteth but in one act; viz. an authoritative setting him apart; and the term of election, as it appeareth by Balsamon, hath not been reputed heretofore, as any part, or, at least, no essential one, of a minister's ordination.

And he moved, that instead of "a particular congregation," it might be expressed, "in a particular church;" for that the Scriptures, produced to prove the proposition, will not aptly and pregnantly reach up to a particular congregation.

Here divers moved to have spoken, but it was called to adjourn; when my

Lord *Maitland* read some letters, come this day to their hands, from the Scots' army, which sheweth the successes and occurrences there. Mr. *Henderson* also read a letter from the Earl of *Argyle,* who desires to hear of the good and happy progress of our Assembly. Dr. *Burgess,* in the name of the Assembly, gave thanks to my Lord, and to the rest of the commissioners, for this their imparting.

Wednesday, March 20.]—The first thing done this morning, was about a certificate for one Mr. *Argall,* which had been two or three days before this in the committee for examination, and had cost it a great deal of debate; but now it was voted affirmatively, openly in the Assembly, that he should have his certificate.

This being past, Dr. *Burgess,* now in the chair, produced a letter directed to the prolocutor, from my Lord of *Manchester,* wherein he desires the continuance of Mr. *Ash* and Mr. *Good.*

This being read, Dr. *Burgess* again tendered a letter drawn up by himself and Mr. *Hill,* of thankfulness to that earl for his respect and regard to this Assembly; which being read, some scruples and exception were taken at some passages in it, especially by some of the Independents, which cost us some long time, as they have a good faculty to make us to do: at last, with much ado, it was voted to pass.

And then we fell to our work, and Mr. *Palmer* first

moved that the proposition might receive some alteration, viz. that it might be read, "It is convenient that no man," instead of "no man ought."

Mr. *Henderson* answered, with this query, "Whether this church requireth not reformation in this point?"

Mr. *Gattaker:* It was used, in the primitive times, to ordain ministers in great churches, as of Antioch, Jerusalem, without designation to any particular congregation, but only to that church in general.

He also confirmed Mr. *Calamy's* argument, that, upon ceasing of the employment to which he is ordained, his orders are then void.

Nor could he see that the apostles did constantly ordain ministers to fixed places, as Act. xiii. 1. The prophets there mentioned are ministers, and many and more than that church required; but they were made ministers by the apostles' seeing their fitness for that work, and they stayed there and were reserved there; for what occasion should call them away?

There hath been, saith he, a great deal of abuse heretofore, in admitting "sine titulo;" yet is it not safe to run upon the contrary extreme.

Mr. *Young* seconded Mr. *Palmer's* motion for a qualification and temper of the proposition.

Mr. *Calamy* tendered some reasons to enforce the same motion; but it was something opposed, that we should not lose time, for the Assembly was resolving to wave it; but at last he was permitted, and gave these reasons: 1. It will breed many inconveniences, which he showed out of Mr. *Robinson:* 1. Because the ministry of the minister ceases, if his church ceases. 2. A new designation requires a new ordination. 3. He cannot perform any work out of that place to which he is designed.

2. This question was much debated in the council of Trent, and these two reasons were given for the affirmative: 1. That none of the ministry might be idle. 2. That none might beg. At last they healed it thus: 'with either designation to a certain place, or a right of patrimony.'

3. The primitive times that embraced this fixed designation, did it in a prudential way, and not "jure divino."

4. The texts joined to the proposition will not prove, nay, rather disprove it, as it is now altered.

Mr. *Gillespie* moved, That it might not be waved, but that some mollifying terms might be added. And he answered Mr. *Gattaker;* a man ordained to a charge, though his charge cease, yet is he a minister still, by his ordination; as a captain, though all his company be killed, yet is he still a captain.

Dr. *Gouge* moved, That it might be expressed, "It is agreeable to, and warranted by, the word of God."

Mr. *Gattaker* answered, This would still be too strait; because the proposition is negative.

Mr. *Goodwin* moved, That therefore the proposition should run affirmatively, "It is convenient, that every man that is to be ordained," &c.

Mr. *Seaman* moved, That it might be recommitted till the afternoon; and withal he tendered this proposition, as necessary to be handled in this case, "That every minister is so a minister of a particular congregation, as that he hath relation, and is a minister of the whole church."

Mr. *Herle* confirmed this last, That a minister is made a minister to the whole church.

Mr. *Vines* desired, That this last business might be waved, as a little out of season; and so there was a great deal of debate about framing our proposition, and many tendered forms, and much time was spent ere we fixed upon any; at last it was resolved upon this, "It is agreeable to the word of God." But this I opposed, in regard of the contrary; for then it would be said, that those that are not so ordained, are not ordained according to the word of God. But it was swayed to that sense, and the proposition was put to the question, and voted in this sense, "It is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers, be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge," and so we adjourned till afternoon.

Wednesday Afternoon.]—We were long this afternoon, before we could make an assembly: at last being set, we fell upon an answer to my Lord of *Manchester's* letter, about Mr. *Ash* and Mr. *Good* staying with him, which being read, was voted with a little ado.

Then fell we upon our business, where we had left in the forenoon; viz. upon Acts xiv. 23, Tit. i. 5, Acts xx. 17. 28, to prove the proposition, that we had stated in the

morning at our parting. Mr. *Calamy* excepted, and not impertinently, against Acts xx. 17. 28. And this cost some debate, and that very large; at last they were voted.

Then came in mention Eph. iv. and was moved by some to have been added, but it was waved and laid by.

Then was a motion made by Mr. *Ash* for a full answer to the Earl of *Manchester*, about the five members chosen for heads of colleges; for that some of the Independents made nice to give their voices with some of them, and this cost a large debate.

Thursday, March 21.]—The first thing done to-day was, that we had a great deal of urgent motion for our speedier meeting together; for it was very late before we met: at last it was put to the question, and voted, "That we should meet every morning at eight o'clock;" but Mr. *Nye* opposed it exceeding scornfully.

This done, Mr. *Marshal* reported farther from the committee of accommodation between the Independents and us, to this purpose.

1. An addition was put to the first proposition, put in before; viz. that "at these meetings let them pray and preach, handle practical cases, or resolve hard questions."

Fourth proposition. The churches and elderships being offended, let them examine, admonish, and, in case of obstinacy, declare them either disturbers of the peace, or subverters of the faith or otherwise, as the nature and degree of the offence shall require.

5. In case that the particular church or eldership, shall refuse to reform that scandalous doctrine or practice, then that meeting of elders which is assembled from several churches and congregations, shall acquaint their several congregations respectively, and withdraw from them, and deny church-communion and fellowship with them.

This being done, there was a very long debate, whether this committee should be continued:—at last it was concluded it should, and should bring in their report this day fortnight.

This being done, Mr. *Coleman* reported from the first committee, concerning presbytery; viz. the acts of presbytery.

These are four: 1. Ordination, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

2. Censures and release, Matt. xviii. 17, 18.

3. Resolving of doubtful and difficult cases, Act. xv. "per totum."

4. Ordering things concerning the worship of God, 1 Cor. xiv. 33. 40, 2 Chron. xxix. 15, compared with ver. 35.

Then fell we upon the work of the day; viz. That to the lawful and orderly calling of a minister, 1. That he be qualified, both for life and ministerial ability, according to the rules of the apostle, 1 Tim. iii. 2—6, Tit. i. 4—6.

This was concluded upon and ordered without any debate at all.

2. That he be examined and approved of by them by whom he is to be ordained, 1 Tim. iii. 7. 10, and v. 22.

This was also ordered without any debate, save that Mr. *Wilson* urged that the last text was of deacons. It was answered, that the word "also" in that verse doth infer the thing in hand.

3. That he be by them recommended to that congregation, to whom he is to be a minister, and have their consent; unless they can shew just cause of exception against him.

Here was some debate about the proposition, especially in the conclusion, for Mr. *Seaman* urged that it might be expressed, "Who ought to consent, unless," &c.

Mr. *Gillespie* desired, That this might he added, "Unless they can show just cause against him, or will petition for a man that they conceive may be more advantageous to them in his preaching, and more powerful upon their experience:" but this seemed something harsh.

Mr. *Vines:* Before ordination they have the power of consenting, and if they allege good cause, his ordination is to be stopt; this is a great deal of privilege.

Mr. *Seaman* moved, That the words, "Before he be ordained," might be inserted: but this was not embraced.

Mr. *Henderson* desired, That we might take into consideration the people's interest, in point of election: and he proposed this question: "The presbytery recommends one, and the people desire another; how shall it be determined?" This cost us some debate, whether to fall upon the power of the people.

Mr. *Burroughs:* The question is, Whether the people should recommend him to the presbytery, rather than "e contra?"

Mr. *Vines*: The recommending by the presbytery heals

all; for do either the patron or the people choose, yet is he to be recommended by the presbytery.

Mr. *Gillespie* desired, That this might hold; In no case, in a settled church, a minister may be obtruded upon a congregation, "renitente ecclesia."

Mr. *Bridges* doubted the proposition comes not up to the privilege of the people.

Mr. *Herle:* "Renitentia ecclesiæ," is not of will, but of reason; therefore it is implied in the last words, "except they find just cause."

Mr. *Palmer:* This proposition he conceived to be very fit to stand, and to be debated; for that when this is done, the power of the people may be handled; and he tendered this form of it:—

"When a minister is to be designed to a particular congregation, before he be ordained he is to be recommended by those that are to ordain him, to those people to whom he is to be minister, and to have their consent, unless they can give just cause to the contrary."

Mr. *Burroughs:* It is methodical to begin at the lowest step, the people's recommending.

Mr. *Young:* This proposition concerns ordination, which more especially concerns the presbytery so met. In ancient times, the people desired a man, and never was there an ordination "invita plebe:"—and he cited Lampridius for this purpose, speaking concerning Christians in the life of Severus.

Mr. *Marshal* tendered this form: "Whensoever the man is recommended to the presbytery, be it by whomsoever, the people to be heard before he be ordained."

Mr. *Goodwin*: We have the whole calling of a minister in hand. Now election belongs to this: and therefore he desired that that might be fallen upon.

He desired also that our proposition might be reduced to this: "That none be obtruded upon a people 'renitente ecclesia:'" but this was not liked.

Mr. *Rutherford:* The Scriptures constantly give the choice of the pastor to the people. The act of electing is in the people; and the regulating and correcting of their choice is in the presbytery.

Mr. *Palmer* again offered this form, excluding the presbytery's recommending:

"When a minister is to be designed to a particular congregation, before he be ordained he is to have the people's consent, unless they can shew just cause against him."

Mr. *Gillespie:* But if they cannot shew just cause against him, what then is to be done? The people say, We see no error in him, in life and doctrine, but honour and reverence him; but we can better profit by another:—what is to be done in this?

And here we had a large debate, both about this, and whether we should treat concerning election. At last it was put to the question, whether the proposition brought in by the committee should be debated in "terminis," or no: and it resolved negatively.

Then Mr. *Gillespie* moved, That this proposition might be debated:

"He that is to be ordained, be not obtruded against the congregation; for the prelates are for obtrusion, the separation for a popular voting: *ergo*, let us go in a medium."

Mr. *Calamy* moved, That the power of the people might be taken into consideration.

Mr. *Seaman* conceived, That more or less liberty is to be given to congregations, according to their qualifications.

Here we had a great deal of do to state our proposition. At last, it was putting to the question, Whether we should fall upon Mr. *Palmer's* proposition; when the Scots put in for Mr. *Gillespie's*, and the Independents moved to have election taken into consideration. So it was moved by Mr. *Vines*, the matter should be recommitted; but that was not well liked: but divers things over and over again, offered to be debated, which cost us exceeding long time. At last, Mr. *Palmer* offered his again, with this addition, "The people have this right at least," to give their consent, &c. This was ready to be ordered as current, but I spake against it, and desired to speak to it before it passed; and so it was delayed from voting: and some other forms of propositions were again tendered, especially this: "No man that is to be ordained for a particular congregation, is to be set over that people, if they shall allege just cause against him." And this was ready again to go to the question, when I interposed,—that this proposition held out that the dissent of the people did exclude him from being set over them; but it hit not upon the business in hand; viz. Whether that

did forbid him to be ordained howsoever: whereupon, this was fixed upon in its stead, to be debated next, and so it was voted:—

"No man shall be ordained a minister for a particular congregation, if they can shew just cause of exception against him:" and there were two more tendered:—

1. "He is not to be ordained at all without their consent." 2. "The people have a right to nominate:" and these were put to the question, whether they should be next debated, after that that was voted; and it was voted negatively, that they should not be taken next into consideration.

Friday, March 22.]—This morning we fell upon this proposition: "No man shall be ordained a minister for a particular congregation, if they can shew any just cause of exception against him." This was ordered without any dispute at all, but that Mr. *Coleman* cast in some light doubts against it, which were easily answered.

Then fell we upon some scripture for the confirmation of it; and 1 Tim. iii. 2, was offered; "blameless." Here Dr. *Temple* excepted against it, as having no reference to the people's refusal; but this was easily answered also, and so that text, and Tit. i. 7, were ordered and concluded.

Then Mr. *Marshal* moved, That we might say something more to this purpose, about the power and choice of the people: but this was answered by Dr. *Burgess*, That this is against our vote at our rising yesterday; and he desired that the next proposition in the report should be taken in hand, and then that afterward. And here it cost us a great deal of time and tug, what we should first fall upon, as always we do, when we fall upon any such business of form, or order, at last we fell upon this:—

"That he be ordained by prayer and imposition of hands, by such preaching presbyters as shall be thereunto appointed." 1 Tim. v. 22, Act. xiv. 23.

This was ready to be ordered and concluded, without any debate, when Dr. *Stanton* moved, That "fasting" might be taken in; which, after a while, was ready to be put in, when Mr. *Rathbone* also excepted against the phrase, "which shall be thereunto appointed," and he tendered that it might be expressed, "by those to whom it doth belong;" both

which were ready to be received, when Mr. *Gattaker* opposed against "fasting," and Mr. *Seaman* also, and so did I, alleging, that though I honour fasting, yet that it seems those places, held out for the proof of this, do not so much import the apostles' intentional fasting at ordination, as to relate that at that time, they used that which was their constant custom. And here were divers things spoken "pro et contra," upon this point: and withal Mr. *Selden*, and Mr. *Gillespie* after him, excepted at the phrase, "by imposition of hands," because the Scripture useth the word μετὰ: and Mr. *Gillespie* questioned this proposition did not exclude the universal interest of the presbytery, but only confines it to some certain presbyters.

Mr. *Gattaker* conceived the word "by" was not so improper; but Mr. *Seaman* opposed it; and this cost some debate also: at last it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, or to pass, in these words:

"That he be ordained by imposition of hands and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong;" 1 Tim. v. 22, Act. xiv. 23, and xiii. 3.

Now were we again to seek, what to fall upon next, for now this report was out: at last it was agreed to fall upon this proposition brought in by the first committee yesterday, "Ordination is an act of the presbytery;" 1 Tim. iv. 14. This was easily agreed unto, but there was some question what presbytery is here meant; and this again fixed us a good while before we could get off: at last it was put to the question, and voted "nemine contradicente," but myself, for I excepted against the allegation of the text.

Then were we again out of work, and to seek what to do farther, and very many things were tendered. At last it was recommitting to the first committee, to take into consideration, where to fix ordination, or in what presbytery: but it was opposed, and Mr. *Seaman* tendered this proposition: "Those preaching presbyters that dwell together in one city, or those that are associated out of several villages, are those to whom the act of ordination doth belong in their association."

And this cost a great deal of debate before it could be entertained, and at last it was framed in these words: "The preaching presbyters orderly associated, either in cities or neighbouring villages, are those to whom imposition of hands

doth appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively;" and voted to be debated.

And this proposition also, "The power of ordering the whole act of ordination is in the presbytery"—was also voted to be debated.

Monday, March 25.]—This day, and whole week, I was at Munden, because of the fast; but the main businesses of the days, as I was informed upon my return, were thus:—On this day the two propositions, framed up on Friday, and last mentioned, were debated, and held all the day, and at last were voted:—and then there was some debate, which of them should be set first:—and at last it was resolved that the prolocutor and some other should take that into consideration. This day they adjourned, as usually we do, till Thursday, because of the fast:—

Thursday, March 28.]—The work of this day was the debate of this proposition:—

"The ministry, oracles, and ordinances, of the New Testament, were given by Jesus Christ, to the general church visible, fc the beginning and perfecting of it in this life, until his second coming;" 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 4, 5, compared with ver. 11—13. 15, 16, which were all voted after the debate, which took up the whole day.

Friday, March 29.]—This day this proposition was debated.[*]

Monday, April 1.]—This whole day, in a manner, was taken up with a business of competition and controversy betwixt two schoolmasters, about the mastership of Merchant Taylor's school, which at last was fixed, and the Assembly voted with one of them.

After which business, the time being very near spent, the proposition debated yesterday was reassumed, and after a while voted.

Tuesday, April 2.]—This day I was come to the Assembly again; and the first thing done was that Mr. *Byfield* moved, from some merchants and others, that are travelling into Transylvania, Sweden, and other places, that they might take with them some copies of our letters to the Low Country churches, to disperse among those churches;—which was ordered accordingly.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was this proposition, which had cost a great deal of debate a day be-

fore: 'Particular visible churches, members of the general, are the institution of Jesus Christ."

To this Mr. *Wilkinson,* sen. first spake to oppose it thus:—If the particular churches consist of a mixed company, then are they not true churches; for the true church is separate from the world; called out of this mixture; redeemed from among men; and first-fruits to Christ.

2. Such as are not elect, then are they not united to Christ the head; *ergo,* not members of that body whereof Christ is the head.

These things he grounded upon Dr. *Reynolds's* thesis;—and these cost some time, though we avoided to debate this point, which was not against our proposition.

Mr. *Palmer* also scrupled at this. How could it be proved that these particular churches are the institution of Christ?—for that this is only occasional.

Mr. *Marshal* answered him, That though it be occasional, yet is it Christ's institution:—so was the bringing in of deacons.

Mr. *Bathurst* urged, Matt. xxviii. 19, to prove this institution; for that all nations cannot be but several congregations.

Mr. *Herle* also scrupled at the word "institution," because that it imports a command, and for this he cited Tully "in Officiis,"—now an occasional thing cannot make this; and therefore desired that there might be some temper, and not the very word "institution."

Mr. *Walker* answered, That Christ sent to convert people in all places; *ergo.*

Dr. *Burgess* moved, That the Scriptures might first be examined, and Mr. *Price* backed him.

Mr. *Whittacre:* The church of Rome, Ephesus, and Corinth, were particular churches of the general, but these were of the institution of Christ; *ergo.* And he added, that women's receiving sacraments, and the sacrifices of Abel and Noah, were virtual institutions and not formal.

Mr. *Goodwin:* Institutions may fall upon natural things; as 1 Cor. xiv. not speaking in an unknown tongue, and prophesying in order, and women keeping silence; the birthright; the maintenance of ministers, &c.—and that a virtual institution is of no less validity than a formal.

Mr. *Herle* answered, That here is not so much a neces-

sary virtual deduction :—for it is not "ad omne," because it is "sub conditione."

Mr. *Vines* moved, That we might temper the proposition; and moved to know whether the proposition mean a single congregation or many congregations in one church; and whether this institution be precedaneous or subsequent, and therefore desired that some clearing words might be put in :—and he tendered this, "We find in the New Testament particular visible churches members of the church general."

Dr. *Temple* offered this, "Particular visible churches, members of the general, so gathered," &c.—referring to that that went before.

Mr. *Palmer* tendered, "Are according to the will of Christ."

Here came a great deal of tumult and heat, for Mr. *Bathurst* and Mr. *Philips* stood up both to speak, and there was great contestation who should speak first; at last Mr. *Bathurst* sat down, and Mr. *Philips* spake.

After this the debate returned, concerning the proposition in hand, and it held us all the day :—at last it was put to the question, "Whether there should be any addition;"—and it was voted affirmatively.

And then it came to debate, whether the word "also" should be added;—and this cost a great deal of time and heat; for the Independents mightily opposed it. But at last it was added, and the proposition so voted.

And then were the Scriptures ordered for the proof, Gal. i. 2. 22, Rev. i. 4. 30.

Wednesday, April 3.]—The first thing done this morning was, that Dr. *Burgess* reported from that committee, to which was referred the drawing up of our votes about ordination, in this very manner :—

1. No man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the word without a lawful calling; John iii. 27, Rom. x. 14, 15, Jer. xiv. 14, Heb. v. 4.

2. Ordination is always to be continued in the church, Tit. v. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22. And this they have joined to the former with these words, "For this purpose," ordination is to be continued, &c.

3. Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church office; Numb. viii. 10, 11. 14. 19. 22, Acts vi. 3. 5, 6.

4. Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong; 1 Tim. v. 22, Acts xiv. 23, xiii. 3.

5. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination, is in the whole presbytery; 1 Tim. iv. 14.

6. It is agreeable to the word, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers, be designed to some particular church, or some other ministerial charge; Acts xiv. 23, Tit. i. 5, Acts xx. 17. 28.

7. He that is to be ordained, must be duly qualified, both for life and ministerial abilities, according to the rules of the apostle; 1 Tim. ii. 3—6, Tit. i. 5—9.

8. He is to be examined and approved of, by them by whom he is to be ordained; 1 Tim. iii. 7. 10, and v. 22.

9. No man is to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation, if they can shew just cause of exception against him; 1 Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 7.

10. Preaching presbyters, orderly associated, either in cities or neighbouring villages, are those to whom the imposition of hands doth appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively; 1 Tim. iv. 14.

11. In extraordinary cases something extraordinary may be done, until a settled order can be had; yet keeping as near as possibly may be, to the rule, which rule being before laid down, the proposition is proved from 2 Chron. xxix. 34—36. and xxx. 2—5.

12. There is at this time an extraordinary occasion for the way of ordination for the present supply of ministers.

After which Dr. *Burgess* gave account of the method, and of the committee's carriage in the business; amongst other things, that they had affixed, 1 Tim. iv. 14, to proposition tenth, which the Assembly had not done; and this cost some debate, which by degree grew to a great length;—at last it was put to the question, and voted to pass, and stand as a proof of the fifth proposition.

Then was the fifth proposition excepted against, by some, for being prejudicial to the civil magistrate; which also cost some large debate:—but this was passed without any vote.

Next was there some exception, at the expression, "if they can shew," &c. And to this I spake, as dubious, whe-

ther to relate to the ordainers, in the former proposition, or to the congregation in this: so it was altered by vote thus:—"If they of that congregation can shew," &c.

Then Mr. *Bridges* excepted against the tenth proposition, as excluding the lay-elders from imposition;—and so did Mr. *Goodwin*, for that it doth assent presbyterial government: and so did Mr. *Nye*, and this cost much ado; but at last it was passed over, and the proof of it was fallen upon again, and cost a great deal of time and debate. At last it was first put to the question, Whether it should pass or no; and it came to a vote so dubitable, that we were put to our votes by standing up, and it was carried affirmatively: but I gave my negative.

Then Mr. *Palmer* moved for more proof; viz. for one which Mr. *Gouge* had tendered, Acts xiv. 21. 23; but the proof was not fully liked; and then Mr. *Seaman* desired that some reasons might be given to confirm the proposition; as, 1. That preaching-presbyters are to ordain, for that we find no ordination but by preaching-presbyters; and some reason also for the association.

But Mr. *Nye* did very disdainfully reject it. Howbeit, it cost some agitation, and held long, and was driven on by divers; and Mr. *Palmer* urged that this reason might be added to the fourth proposition.

In which business, while we were tugging "pro et contra," my Lord of *Warwick* brought an order from the Lords for us; as we have concluded the doctrinal part of ordination, so to fall upon a Directory for the managing of it:—and also, after that, to fall in hand about the Directory for worship, especially about the administration of the sacrament.

Then was it put to the question, whether we should add this reason to the tenth proposition, and voted negatively: and so we adjourned till afternoon.

Wednesday Afternoon.]—We fell this afternoon to consider upon the Lords' order that came to us in the morning; and after some large time it was concluded, that the divines of the grand committee should propose to that committee the urgency of the Lords, and desire them to hasten the work, for they have it now in hand.

Then had we much agitation about the Directory for ordination; and it concluded in the choice of a select committee to consider of it, of these eight: Mr. *Palmer*, Mr.

Herle, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Tuckney*, Mr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Gattaker;* requesting the commissioners of Scotland to be present, and assistant to this committee.

And then we fell upon our work, where we left in the morning; viz. upon the eleventh proposition. "In extraordinary cases something extraordinary may be done," &c.

Dr. *Temple* opposed the presenting of this, and the next; and this was backed by others: but at last it was resolved upon for the retaining of them both.

Then came it to debate whether we should transmit these propositions to the parliament; which the Independents did very much oppose, using this reason against it, "because they conclude a presbytery, and the presbytery is not yet determined nor debated:" as also, "because there is nothing determined neither concerning the people's election."

Mr. *Nye* desired the tenth proposition might be pared, and the latter part left out.

Dr. *Seaman* desired that we might speak fully and plainly concerning presbytery; and that for that purpose, while the directory is in framing and moulding up, we might also go on to perfect the business of presbytery.

The conclusion was, that the twelve propositions were laid by, till the directory for ordination be ready: and to fall on in the morning upon the presbytery, to shew what presbytery our fifth and tenth propositions mean.

Thursday, April 4.]—This morning we first read over our votes concerning the presbytery: and then we fell upon examination how far any of those votes will forward us to shew what we mean by presbytery. And here Mr. *Burroughs* urged, that we have not yet proved the church at Jerusalem to consist of fixed congregations; and this Mr. *Goodwin* pursued: but this was thought to be a business that would bring us too far back and about, and hinder us in our expedition.

Here also Mr. *Marshal* would have interposed, but he was stopped, because it was already ordered that the prolocutor, assessors, and scribes, should consider the votes of the Assembly about presbytery, and draw up into form as many of them, as will help to illustrate what we mean by presbytery.

Then we fell upon debate what work we should now fall upon, and the Independents urged hard to prove the congre-

gations in Jerusalem fixed. Others moved one way, some another.

Mr. *Palmer*, among others, moved for some temper or contrivance, that this business of ordination might go on, and we and the Independents not differ.—This was backed by divers, and again gainsaid by divers, and among others by myself. And this and other debates took up all the forenoon. At last it was put to the question, Whether the tenth proposition shall be altered; and it was voted negatively.

Then had we a pretty large debate what to fall upon, to shew what we mean by presbytery: at last, after much debate, it was concluded in this, that our next work should be to debate this proposition to-morrow:—"Whether these congregations be fixed or not, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination."

Friday, April 5.]—This morning the first thing done was the nominating of some to attend the houses to pray with them:—the men named excused themselves; and this cost a great deal of business. At last Mr. *Herrick*, one of them, was excused because of sickness.

Then fell we upon the work of the day.

At first Dr. *Burgess* fairly cleared the proposition, and desired it might be ordered; but Mr. *Nye* soon interposed, and found difficulty upon difficulty;—and here we fell a debating.

Mr. *Burroughs* offered this argument:—There is difference betwixt a presbytery over a single congregation, and over many congregations; *ergo*, they are not indifferent: and he called for some arguments to prove them indifferent; whether fixed or fluid.

Mr. *Seaman* answered thus: Every minister is so fixed to a congregation, as that he is minister to the whole church: and so every particular congregation is to a particular congregation, as that it is a member of the whole, and so is to be subject to the whole.

Mr. *Calamy* moved, that the word "fixed," might be understood in the sense, that our churches of England are at this day, and so it might be debated.

This business about stating of the question held us all the forenoon. At last it was put to the question, and voted to debate it in "terminis," as it is, in the afternoon.

Afternoon.]—Being met, whereas our work was to have

debated the proposition in "terminis," the Independents would not endure it, but fell a tugging, and kept us in debate all the afternoon: and in conclusion, it was resolved upon the question, that this addition should be made to the fifth article or proposition concerning ordination, "which, when it is over many congregations, whether they be fixed or not, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent to the point of ordination."

And withal it was voted, that this addition should be the subject of our debate on Wednesday next; whither we adjourned, because of the public thanksgiving on Tuesday.

Wednesday, April 10.]—This morning we fell upon the addition mentioned; and upon the reading of it by scribe there was silence a good while, and so it was called to be ordered, and was ready to be so when Mr. *Nye* excepted against it; and here began our debate; and my Lord of *Pembroke* urged us for haste.

Mr. *Marshal* insisted upon the indifferency as for point of ordination.

Mr. *Nye* found a great deal of scruple in the word "fixed:" as, 1. A people in such a compass. 2. A minister fixed to the people. 3. A church and a presbytery. Now ordination being jurisdiction, it cannot be thus indifferent.

Mr. *Marshal:* We hold it such a presbyterial government as we find in Jerusalem; now they were not so fixed but that they were one church.

Mr. *Goodwin:* Here lies the scruple, whether these congregations were fixed or not fixed; and again, if it can be shewed, by some special reason, why ordination makes them so indifferent.

Mr. *Herle:* In ordination, is implied a want of an officer to be ordained: the same is not in other acts of government.

Mr. *Burroughs:* Though there may be a want, yet there may be officers enough to ordain.

While we were thus in debating, Mr. *Henderson* reported from the commissioners of the general assembly in Scotland, that they are to have general assembly in May, and a meeting before, and desire to hear what progress we have made in the Assembly; and he desired that we would take in hand something for the Directory of worship.

Then pursued we our debate, and divers spake to it; and among other things it was moved, that our addition might

be altered; and this held us some space. And then some arguments were offered again, 'pro et contra,' about the addition: in the end of the forenoon it was put to the question, whether the clause, "whether fixed or not fixed," should be omitted; and it was voted negatively.

Then was the proposition in "terminis," put to the question, and voted affirmatively; and so we adjourned till afternoon.

Afternoon.]—The first thing done when we were met, was, that the votes we had made concerning presbytery methodized by a committee, appointed for that purpose, were reported by Mr. *Byfield* thus:—

1. Prop. The Scripture doth hold out a presbytery in a church; 1 Tim. iv. 14, Acts xv. 2. 4. 6.

2. Prop. A presbytery consisteth of ministers of the word, and such other public officers as are agreeable to, and warranted by, the word of God to be church-governors, to join with the ministers in the government of the church; Rom. xii. 7, 8, 1 Cor. xii. 26.

3. The Scripture holds forth that many congregations may be under one presbyterial government. Proved by instance of the church of Jerusalem.

1. It consisted of more congregations than one; and one apostle; Acts i. 15, ii. 42. 46, iv. 4, v. 14; this before the dispersion; and after the dispersion, which did not so scatter them, but that they were still several congregations; Acts ix. 31, xii. 24, xxi. 20.

2. By many apostles and other preachers in that church.

3. The diversity of languages among the believers; Acts ii. and vi.

2. Prop. "All these were under one presbyterial government."

1. All these were but one church, and are so called; Acts viii. 1, ii. 47, v. 11, xii. xv. 4.

2. The elders of that church are mentioned, Acts xi. 30, xv. 4. 6. 22, xxi. 17, 18.

3. The apostles did the ordinary act of presbyters, as presbyters in the church of Jerusalem.

4. The several congregations in Jerusalem being but one church, and the elders of that church being mentioned as meeting together in acts of government, it followeth that those several congregations were under one presbyterial go-

vernment. They met in acts of government; Acts xi. ult. xv. 6. 22, xxi. 17, 18.

This being done, we fell in debating whether we should send up all these votes or no; and the Independents did mightily oppose it; and it held a very long agitation. Here I spake, and urged that though they were more than the matter of ordination required, yet were they nothing near so much as the parliament's patience, and the kingdom's expectation challenged; and therefore desired to put it to vote: which the Independents still opposed, threatening to put in their dissenting reasons: this much moved the Assembly, as unwilling of such a business. But I again urged that this was more sorrowful than terrible; for that we being so many brought up in study, it was no unexpected thing for us to dissent in judgment. Howbeit, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Herle*, and others, moved for an accommodation in this business. I interposed again, 'whether it be fit to delay time to see whether we could give four or five content, which was uncertain, and to neglect to give four hundred thousand or five hundred thousand content, which we should certainly do in transmitting these votes to answer some expectation:' yet was it swayed for a committee to be chosen for accommodation, which was done.

Then fell we upon what to debate to-morrow; and it was voted to debate another example of more congregations than one; viz. Ephesus, under one presbyterial government: but Mr. *Goodwin* urged to debate the point about fixed or unfixed congregations; which I backed, that we might no more start at such objections, as this which had been so often cast in our way, but determine it by some vote; and so it was carried, and we adjourned.

Thursday, April 11.]—This morning our first work was, that Mr. *Marshal* reported from the committee, chosen yesternight about the business of the presbytery whether the whole report[*]

1. That the two first propositions of it should be inserted into some proper place, among the twelve, concerning ordinations.

2. The third, concerning a presbytery over many congregations, they conceived it fit to omit for the present. And some reasons they had subjoined for it.

Dr. *Gouge* urged first, to know how far the directory is

gone forward in the hands of the committee chosen for that purpose: which Mr. *Marshal* fairly answered, "Never a whit."

Dr. *Smith* moved, That this report made now, might be laid by for a while; and he gave his reason for it.

Dr. *Temple* urged, That these propositions, concluded upon by the committee, hold out nothing of a presbytery over many congregations.

Other exceptions were made against the report, and answers given, which held a long time.

I moved among others, that 'the committee might be set a-work speedily about the directory, and be ordered to bring in their report with speed:' and so it was ordered that the present report should be laid by, and the Assembly not sit to-morrow in the afternoon; and the committee to sit upon the Directory then.

Mr. *Hill* moved, That 'there might be some preface made to the Directory in vindication of our ordination, which is so much now vilified:' whereupon Mr. *Marshal* moved that 'Mr. *Hill* might be added to the committee,' and so he was.

Then were letters read from the classes of Hessia [*] to us; wherein they first set out the walking of God's judgments through the world; then they lay open the misery they themselves have suffered in the German war; and then they come to us, and condole us, and comfort and cheer us, and shew how they remember us in their prayers; and commend our covenant, but wish us to be cautelous in the business of episcopacy, lest it bring too great a confusion, by so great an alteration.

Dr. *Gouge*, after the reading of them, moved whether we would return to the Walachrian churches for their letter: but this Mr. *Marshal* opposed; yet Mr. *Vines* shewed that the Walachrians touch upon the Apology, and this upon our second article in our covenant:—therefore we should give some answer for our own vindication; but this fell.

And so we fell upon our work of the day, which was to debate this proposition; "Whether they be fixed or not fixed, it is all one as to the truth of the proposition:—Many congregations may be under one presbyterial government."

Mr. *Herle* moved, That these words, "in regard of officers;" others—these, "in regard of people and pastor."

Mr. *Nye* averred this latter to be a church state; and

withal that fixedness doth individuate a church: and here he made a long discourse to shew his mind.

Others spake also to the stating of the question divers things; among others Mr. *Gillespie* said that the proposition was of two parts: 1. "De facto," whether the church of Jerusalem was fixed or fluid? and this lies upon the Independents to prove. 2. Whether, if they were fluid, there is any difference between them and us in respect of government?

Mr. *Burroughs* undertook the first thus: "They are called the elders of Jerusalem:" *ergo*, were fluid pastors to every congregation. We answered many of us together, "The divines of London are called London ministers:" and here we began this question about the congregations of Jerusalem, "Whether they were fixed or not?" which held us all the day, and we referred it also to handle in the morning.

Friday, April 12.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Dr. *Burgess*, having been at Cambridge, brought special remembrance to us from my Lord of *Manchester*, and concluded with relation of the great complaint made every where of our slowness.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, and Mr. *Coleman* tendered, That the church of Jerusalem was sometimes fixed and sometimes fluid, and yet the government the same.

Mr. *Gillespie* would prove the congregations in Jerusalem were fixed, as accounting that to be the vertical point of this question.

But Mr. *Nye* went about to intricate the question, and to state it again: but I took him off, saying, that the order ties us to go on where we left, and now we go on where we began to state the question three days ago: and called to answer the argument given yesterday by Mr. *Gillespie*, which was this:

"Those congregations that were to be patterns of all congregations to come, were fixed; otherwise they were not best governed;" which Mr. *Herle* formed into a syllogism; and the Independents utterly declined to answer; but cavilled and quarrelled, and had no mind to answer.

Here came in tidings that Mr. *Peters* desired to present a message from the city of London, which cost some debate,

whether he should be admitted: at last, being brought in, his errand was from divers good men in the city, who were stirring up one another to rise to go forth unanimously to the general rendezvous; with these desires:

1. The next Lord's Day every minister to apply themselves to their congregations, to stir them up to this business.

2. That we would send down some members of our Assembly to the committee of Lords and Commons, met this day at Grocers' Hall, to shew our concurrence in this.

3. That either some of ourselves would go forth, or at least provide ministers for the army.

But he concluded with an overture very moderate, that in the work we are about, we should be tender of dissenting consciences.

He being withdrawn, the message was debated, and it cost some time; at last, he being called in again, the prolocutor gave him answer thankfully.

Then fell we to our work again, upon the argument in hand; which held us all day; and in conclusion, when we called to vote [*]

Monday, April 15.]—This day I was at Munden, but the business in the Assembly was, that the proposition that had held so long; viz. "that fixedness, or not fixedness, of the congregations, is indifferent as in point of government," was voted; but with mighty and earnest reluctancy of the Independents; and then was there some debate [*]

Tuesday, April 16.]—Being set, the first thing done was, that there came a petition from Coventry, requesting Mr. *Vines* may not be disposed any other way, but may be restored to them again, when the times settle, for he was at St. Michael's.

Which being read, Mr. *Marshal* made a long discourse upon it, but to what purpose I must confess, I did not very well understand. But Dr. *Burgess* briefly moved, that 'a committee might be chosen to confer with the bringers of the petition, and to consider of it;' which was done accordingly: and the alderman that brought the petition, was called in, and the prolocutor expressed the mind of the Assembly.

Then was there complaint concerning our coming so late.

Next did Dr. *Burgess* move some course should be taken

for Hempstead, where there hath been some disturbance by an Anabaptistical minister.

Then fell we upon our work, which was the instance of the church of Ephesus.

1. Many congregations there: proved, 1. From multitude of believers. 2. Paul's continuance there three years, Acts xx. 31.

2. The special effect of the words, Acts xix. 18—20. 1. Many believers, ver. 18. 2. Many curious artists, ver. 19. 3. The "epiphonema," ver. 20.

3. 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9. The reason that Paul useth for his stay there. 2. From multitude of pastors, Acts xx. 17. 28. 36. 3. There was one presbytery, Rev. ii. 1, 2; it there exercised jurisdiction.

First, it was debated in what terms to lay the proposition, which at last was resolved to state when we had seen how far the proofs produced would reach.

So we began to examine the places; to which I added this: That it is observable that Ephesus consisted of Jews and Gentiles: and that in chap. xviii. Paul was desired to stay with the Jews, and in chap. xix. he preached three months; and yet the epistle to the Ephesians is sent to them as to Heathens: which took so well, that Mr. *Marshal*, Dr. *Gouge*, and Mr. *Burgess*, and generally the Assembly, desired it might be taken in.

Mr. *Sympson* objected Eph. ii. ult. κατοικητήριον, and Acts xx. 31, ἕνα ἕκαστον, to prove them but one congregation; but these were easily answered by divers; and indeed to me they seemed not to be worth the answering: yet this cost a long debate.

Mr. *Carter*, jun. after this had been long canvassed, would drive it farther: and here I shewed the scope of the place was to shew, that whereas the Jews were the κατοικητήριον θεοῦ, now the Gentiles were, as ver. 19, once ξένοι, now οἰκεῖοι.

Mr. *Bridges* gave these exceptions: 1. It is called the church of Ephesus. 2. In Acts xix. 29. 34, generally the city were not Christian. 3. Paul needed not to have laboured with his hands, if there had been many congregations. 4. They are called a flock, in relation to the pastors. 5. Ποιμαίνειν, signifieth a pastoral work: now they were pastors only to particular congregations.

To these the answers were ready enough, and were given by divers, &c.

Mr. *Carter*, jun. again urged against the multitude of believers: 1. That his hearers were not of Ephesus only. 2. That Paul preached in the school of Tyrannus. Dr. *Burgess* answered that this disputing in the school of Tyrannus was as a divinity-school, whither all the congregations came:—and Mr. *Marshal* said, Paul had but now preached but three months.

Mr. *Walker* tendered this; 1 Cor. xvi. The church in the house of Priscilla and Aquila; which was at Ephesus, as it is clear by that chapter:—which was very well liked; and Mr. *Gillespie* moved that my argument, that I gave at the first, might be added.

Then called we all to the question, but the Independents, as always, vehemently opposed. At last it was put to the question, whether the word "probability," in the report should be left out, and it was voted that it should.

Then was there a scruple put in before the report was put to the question, about Paul's staying at Ephesus till Pentecost, because a door was opened, &c. I answered, his meaning was, that he would dispense with his going up to the festival, because of the door opened.

Then was the report put to the question, for that part of it which concerned the multitude of elders; and it was voted to pass; and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, *April* 17.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Mr. *Marshal*, from the Vice-admiral, moved that the Assembly would help him to some able honest divine to go to sea with him:—and the conclusion was, that five or six godly ministers of Somersetshire newly delivered out of prison, and now out of employment, and they are to be dealt with, to see whether they will go or no.

Then Dr. *Burgess* reported a draught of all that we had done about ordination, and presbytery: which he had drawn up, ready to be offered to the two houses.

Which being done, Dr. *Temple* excepted against one passage in the report, viz. "For then every apostle preached but seldom:"—which I backed, but it would not be revoked.

Other exceptions were taken at some expressions in the

report, which were taken into consideration, and reformation made of some things where cause was found, and it cost large debate.

At last the whole report was ready to be put to the question, when Mr. *Marshal* moved very urgently that we should forbear to send up the votes concerning the presbytery; and made a long and strange discourse about it:—which business cost a very large debate; and divers spake to it, and amongst others, I myself urged that 'it might be sent up, partly for the staying of many people which stagger, and partly for the vindication of ourselves, who are held for sectaries and separatists.' The conclusion of the business, when it had held us all the forenoon, was, that all the votes reported, should be drawn up ready, and lie by till the parliament should call, or the Assembly think fit to send them up; and so we adjourned, and that before twelve o'clock.

Thursday, April 18.]—The first thing done this morning was, that Dr. *Burgess* reported something of his having provided some ministers for the army and navy.

Then Dr. *Temple* reported from the committee for the Directory of ordination to this purpose:—

1. That the preface intended is not yet ready.

2. That the questions to be proposed to him that is to be ordained, are not yet ready: but at large he reported of these particulars:—

1. He that is to be ordained, must address himself to the presbytery, with a testimony concerning his painfulness in study, and proficiency, and degrees, age according to statute, but especially of his life: and then the presbytery to examine him: being approved, to be sent to the church where he is to be, and preach three days; and, on the last, notice to be given, that some of the congregation go to the presbytery to see him admitted or excepted.

2. Ordination to be in the place, where the minister is to be resident, with fasting and a sermon; and after sermon, the party to be questioned in many particulars: and then hands imposed with prayer: and then the man that preached, to exhort him to faithfulness, &c.; then after a psalm, the people dismissed with a blessing.

These heads the committee had set out very large; and

withal had prescribed a course for ordination in the exigent of these times.

After it was read, Dr. *Burgess* commended the work, but desired some expressions in it might be rectified; and so did Mr. *Ley* and others. But the chief scruple was about the age of him that is to be ordained, which the committee had fixed to twenty-four: the canvassing of which cost a great deal of time; for the Independents did much oppose the fixing of any time at all; but at last it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively.

Then did Dr. *Wincop* move that 'some provision might be made for ordination for fellows of colleges;' and this cost some debate, but was not resolved upon any way

Then were some other scruples cast in upon the report: especially Mr. *Nye* objected against the last clause which vindicateth our ordination, though not formally taken in this very way. This was answered by many. Then did he except against a clause that speaks of removal of a man that hath been ordained already, to another place without ordination. The last words, "without ordination," pinched him; and he and his fellows held us a very long tug with this; and it could not be determined but by vote, which carried those words should stand.

Then was there some debate concerning some dumb ministers that are already in orders, whether their ministry be valid?

At the last, the whole Directory was putting to the question, when Mr. *Rathbone* scrupled about the inquiring into the grace of God in him. At last it was wholly put to the question, whether the whole Directory now brought in, should be drawn up to be sent up to the houses; and it was voted affirmatively, and so we adjourned. —This day Mr. *Gillespie's* sermon for the fast was given to each of us.

Friday, April 19.]—Our first work this morning was about nomination of two for the two houses, to pray with them this week:—which had some scruple upon it; one excusing himself, and another doing the like.

Then Dr. *Temple* reported from the committee for the Directory. 1. A preface to it, and to the work of ordination; and withal a proviso in conclusion of the work, for such as chance to come at any time out of foreign churches, to be a

minister in the church of England; and for a register to be kept of all that shall be ordained: likewise rules for examination of him that is to be ordained: item, a query how he that is ordained, shall express his assent to the confession of faith which shall be drawn up.

Which being read over by the scribe, we took it up by piecemeal, and every one gave his opinion upon it. Among others I excepted at the strict tie requiring of fasting, with imposition of hands; for it ran thus, "It is manifest by the word of God, that none is to enter the ministry unless he have a lawful calling, and be set apart with imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting:"—which cost some consideration; and so serious, as it was fitting, that at last it was voted to be left out, and the clause to run thus, "None is to be a minister, unless he be lawfully ordained."

Then had we a canvass whether we should leave out mention of a "lawful calling," in the preface; and Mr. *Nye* urged that "no man ought," might be changed into, "men may not;" and he and his partners did mightily oppose the enforcing of ordination. At last it was voted that it run thus: "unless he be lawfully called and ordained."

Then were three more things ordered without controversy: 1. About ministers that come ordained out of the country. 2. About registers to be kept of the ordained and ordainers;—and I added, upon suggestion of Mr. *Salway*, "of their testimonials," which was also taken in. 3. About his trial in learning:—but that in that which concerned Scripture chronology, some moved that it might be left out; but Dr. *Burgess*, Mr. *Marshal*, and myself, moved that it might stand; and I alleged, that 'I held that he read not Scripture, if he be not expert in chronology;' and so it was kept in.

Then the rest of the report was passed through and concluded upon. But here and there there was some scruple; especially upon that clause, of examining the party to be ordained, two days: and this kept us a good while, some desiring that it might be expressed two whole days, others two several days, and gave reasons why they should not be examined two whole days; and so it passed, "two several days, and more if the presbytery shall think it necessary." Here I moved that 'the order of this rule, and that of his examination in Hebrew, Greek, logic, &c. might be changed; and this to be set first, and that after, as a comment

upon this:' which was agreed upon to be done accordingly.

In conclusion, there was an addition to that brought in yesterday, "that every one that comes for ordination, shall bring in a testimonial that he hath taken the covenant."

After all our Directory was done and passed, Mr. *Palmer* moved that 'we should set down direction that no money at all should be taken by the presbytery:'—but this was thought now to be unseasonable by some till the presbytery be drawn up: others answered, that the presbytery would inevitably require a scribe, which must be satisfied for his pains. And this business cost a large debate, and much was spoke of it "pro et contra;" and it cost a very long debate. At last it was put to the question, whether this should be added as a direction; "no money or gift of any kind, shall be received from him that is to be ordained, or any other in his behalf, for ordination, by any of the presbytery, any belonging to any of them, under any pretence whatsoever." But the repetition of the word "any" caused some laughter, but withal distaste; whereupon it was changed into other language, and ordered to be added to the Directory.

Then Mr. *Palmer* moved again, about excusing the presbytery from a "quare impedit," if they stop a man presented, if they find him unworthy: but this was thought to concern the civil ordaining and not ours.

Mr. *Herrick* moved, That 'those that have abjured the national covenant, should never be made ministers;' but this was disliked.

When we had done the Directory, in regard of the substance, we had some words about the method.

And then had we much debate, about sending up what we had done; whether we should send up the business of presbytery; which was followed and agitated with much heat. At last it was put to the question, and voted that the draught of presbytery should not yet be sent in.

But for the twelve propositions about ordination and the Directory, it was ordered they should be sent in to-morrow morning: and for that purpose a committee was chosen, whereof I was one, to attend the houses with them:—but I excused myself, because of my going into Hertfordshire; but yet I could not prevail but that my name stood in the number still; and so we adjourned till Thursday, because of Tues-

day being the day of public thanksgiving for the Lord *Fairfax's* victory, and Wednesday the fast.

Thursday, April 25.]—This week and day I was at Munden, because of the fast; but the work of the Assembly this day was, first, Mr. *Ash* brought a message from my Lord of *Manchester,* commending some men for fellows in the five colleges of the new masterships, desiring the Assembly's trial of them. This cost some time.

Then fell they upon the work of the day; which was the example of the church of Ephesus: which held in debate all day, and, in fine, concluded in a resolve, that the church of Ephesus shall be added to prove more congregations under one presbyterian government, and Acts xx. 17, xxv. 25, xxx. 36, 37, Rev. ii. 1. 6, xvii. 28, brought to confirm it.

Then the instance of the church of Corinth was read; but waved upon debate, because it was thought too long a work.

Then, upon Mr. *Seaman's* motion, there was a committee chosen, to hasten and draw up a summary of the whole church-government.

Friday, April 26.]—This day's work was on the fourth proposition of the second committee, which was this:—"Particular churches in the primitive time were made up of visible saints; to wit, of such as, being of age, professed faith in Christ, and obedience to Christ, according to the rule of faith and life taught by Christ and his apostles, and of their children. Proofs, Acts ii. 38. 41, and ult. compared with Acts v. 14; which, being debated all day, was at last voted.

Monday, April 29.]—This day was almost all spent in stating the next proposition in the report of the second committee; viz. "So many visible saints as dwelt in one city, were but one church in regard of church government:" and the question was, 'Whether to take it up in the terms of the report, or to change it;' and, at last, it was resolved to debate it in the terms of the report.

This day letters came to us out of Zealand to the same tenor as of those of Walachria: and the same dislike of the Apologetic narration, and a promise to say something in time to it.

This day also was a committee chosen for the examination of those university-men, that should be made fellows in

Cambridge, in the five colleges, whereof our five members are made heads: and I was appointed one of the committee, though I was absent.

Tuesday, April 30.]—This day I came into the Assembly.

The first work this day was, that Dr. *Burgess* renewed the agitation of a business which was in hand yesterday: for my Lord General sent in that he hath an overture from Oxford, for the change of Dr. *Holsworth, Martin, Beale,* Mr. *Squire,* and about half a score of such; and a tender from thence of as many in number of divines in the west, which indeed are worthy men, but of obscure rank and place. Which matter cost some debate; but the conclusion was, that the Assembly think not the change equal, nor the matter fit for the Assembly to meddle in; and, therefore, thought good to refer it, in all humility and submissiveness, to his Excellency: but it had cost a large debate before it could be thus determined.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was this proposition, in a report of the second committee:—"So many visible saints as dwelt in one city, were but one church in regard of church-censure."

This is proved, 1. Because that there is mention but of one church in any city,—as, of Jerusalem, Corinth, Antioch, and the seven churches in the seven cities of Asia; 1 Cor. i. 2, 1 Thess. i. 4, 2 Thess. i. 1.

Mr. *Burroughs* urged to have these proofs to be brought into formed arguments. Mr. *Seaman* retorted, that if it were not objected against it [*] that it might be ordered.

But Mr. *Rutherford* thought it not current to speak of one church only in one city, for that was a church in the house of Aquila in Ephesus: and he thought, particular congregations have their interest in government; which he argued thus: If particular congregations have power of the word and sacraments, then have they some power of government in themselves: but, *ergo,* this power he thought not independent. This his proposal cost some large debate, and much 'pro et contra' was about it; and Mr. *Rutherford* still urged that we might keep clear in this, that we should not infringe the power of particular congregations. Which debate, while it was in agitation, which had held long, there was a draught tendered of an answer to my Lord General's proposal, drawn up by Dr. *Burgess,* and read, which cost

some large debate. At last it was agreed on, and Mr. *Valentine* and Mr. *Hodges* appointed to bring it to my Lord General.

Then fell we upon our work again; and our dispute fell into three points, or more; as, 1. about the power of particular congregations; 2. about fixed or not fixed, &c.; 3. about *de facto* of the things or examples in hand: and we were long about the business of settling upon what to fall. At last, Mr. *Herle* fell to argue against the proposition, and Mr. *Seaman* to answer him; and others interposed between; so that the whole space of our sitting was taken up; and so we called to adjourn; but, before, they that were sent with our answer to my Lord General, returned, and reported what they had done, and my Lord's tender respects tendered to us; and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, May 1.]—The first thing done this morning was, that *Salloway*, of the House of Commons, brought an order from the House, to hasten our work. Whereupon we had a long debate about resolving upon our time of meeting in the morning: at last it was put to the question, 'Whether we should agree to pay sixpence a-piece, whosoever come after prayers at half an hour past eight;' and it was voted affirmatively. And there was again a long debate about a forfeiture of twelve-pence for those that are absent any day: but this was not resolved on, by reason of an interposition of Mr. *Henderson*, who related, that the Lord *Warriston* is presently bound for Scotland, and therefore desired that he might have some satisfaction from the Assembly to the General Assembly in Scotland, concerning our progress here; and it was concluded, that letters should be written for the purpose, and Dr. *Burgess*, now in the chair, was desired to draw them up.

Then fell we upon the motion of forfeiture again, but it was laid by, and not concluded on.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was upon the *de facto* of the proposition in hand yesterday.

Mr. *Henderson* first moved, 'That we might give due to particular churches;' and this moved a large debate, and caused the paper, which the Scots' commissioners had put in long since, concerning their government, to be read. And this point held us a very long time: at last it was concluded to wave this proposition, which had now held us in stating these three days. Then my Lord *Warriston* being come in,

told of his journey to Scotland, and desired to know what the Assembly would command him thither, and expressed his great respect to the Assembly. Dr. *Burgess* answered him largely in the name of the Assembly; and so there was some change of compliments between them.

Then fell we upon the next proposition of the report; viz. "When believers multiply to such a number that they cannot conveniently meet in one place, it is lawful and expedient that they should be divided into distinct and fixed congregations, for the better administration of such ordinances as belong unto them, and for the edifying of one another." This was ready to be ordered without any debate, but that the Independents interposed; and confessed by them to be true, but suspected to aim at the presbyterian government; and so at last [*]

There were these proofs to the examination, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. 33. 40, Heb. x. 24, 25.

Mr. *Goodwin* first spake against the first, that it supposed there were more fixed congregations in Corinth than one, which is not yet determined. This cost a little debate; but, at last, it was resolved, that the text contained the general ground, edification, and order, and so passed.

Then Mr. *Gillespie* tendered the example of the church in the house of Priscilla and Aquila; but Mr. *Goodwin* spake against it.

Mr. *Coleman* tendered the example of the church of Colosse, and the church in the house of Nymphas, and in the house of Philemon; but the business of the church in Nymphas's house could not be made good to be in Colosse.

Then fell we upon the next proposition in the report, which was this; "We find no other ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct congregations, but by the bounds of their dwellings;" which was speedily ordered, with this change, "There is no other ordinary way." But Mr. *Goodwin* was soon aware that this pinched upon their gathering of churches, and so spake against it; and so did Mr. *Nye;* and Mr. *Herle* opposed it, by example of Manchester and other vast parishes: whereupon Mr. *Gattaker* moved, that this proposition might be framed according to the former, "It is expedient that Christians be divided," &c. But there was some debate, whether to put in the word "lawful," and the word "ordinarily," or not; and other things fell in: at

last it was put to the question in these terms:—"There is no other ordinary way of dividing Christians," &c. and voted affirmatively; and so we adjourned. And in the afternoon we sat upon examination of some university-men that stood for fellowship.

Thursday, May 2.]—This morning, before we sat (for some space passed between prayers and our being so), it was moved that some course might be taken, that all that come for sequestration, and to be examined, should take the covenant; for that two men were examined this morning, and confessed they had not taken it. This motion took very really and cordially; and so we fell upon the contrival, how the business might be constantly provided for; and it was referred to the chairman.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was some reasons to confirm the proposition: the first whereof was this:—"Because they that dwell together, are bound to all kinds of moral duties one to another, by virtue of their dwelling together," Deut. xv. 7. Matt. xi. 22. 39.

This reason was disliked by some, and by myself among them; and I tendered the consideration, of the Jews' sabbath-day journey, Acts i.; for if they were bound to go to the synagogue every sabbath, and yet not go on the sabbath above such a space, then were the congregations made up by the bounds of their dwellings.

Howbeit, divers spake to the reason brought in, and went about to assert it,—as Mr. *Bathurst* and Mr. *Palmer;* but Dr. *Gouge,* Mr. *Wilson,* and myself spake against it; for I denied the consequence of the reason to the proposition, for that it cannot be made good in a city. Whereupon it was wheeled about into a motion of adding something to the proposition voted yesterday, to soften and clear it, and so to let it lie, without any proof of it, because it is a negative: but before that was concluded, it was put to the question, whether this reason should be brought to prove the proposition; and it was resolved negatively.

Then was the motion renewed of altering the proposition into an affirmative, which cost some debate; and, among others, I myself spake against it; and it cost a very large discussion; and at last it was put to the question, and voted in these terms:—"The ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct congregations, and most expedient

for edification, is by the respective bounds of their dwelling." But there was a great deal of impediment and disturbance by the Independents; for here they felt themselves pinched in the business of gathering their churches.

Then we took up the reasons brought in by the committee; and here again there was some canvassing with the Independents. At last, it was voted in these terms: "Because they who dwell together, being bound to all kind of moral duties one to another, have the better opportunity thereby to discharge."

Then fell we upon the second reason, which was this:— "Christ came not to dissolve the law, but to fulfil it." Here it was wondered, how this reason depended upon the business in hand: and it was answered by Mr. *Palmer*, that some held that we owe not moral duties to any but to such as are in church-government, and this is brought in to meet with that.

By the way, there came in question, whether to add the proofs of Scripture to the reasons preceding; and it was concluded to put them in the margin.

Then was the thing in hand put to the question, and voted in these words,—"which moral tie is perpetual;" and Matt. v. 17, ordered to be set in the margin.

A third reason, brought in by the committee, was this:— "The communion of saints must be so ordered as may stand with the most convenient use of ordinances, and the discharge of moral duties, without respect of persons:" which was ordered without any debating.

The Scriptures, tendered to confirm it, were many, but these were agreed upon, 1 Cor. xiv. 26, Heb. x. 24, 25, James ii. 1.

Then did Mr. *Wilkinson*, sen. tender that place, Gal. vi. 6, which cost some debate; which was at last folded up in this formed reason to be added:—"The pastor and his people must so nearly cohabit together, that they may mutually perform their duty one to another.

Then Dr. *Burgess* offered another reason: The officers that have charge over such and such members, are to have them so compacted, as that they may discharge their duties to them:"—which the Independents, gathering churches, will not tolerate: but this was not meddled withal, and so we adjourned.

Friday, May 3.]—Our work for this day was this proposition, which was the seventh in the report of the committee: "Single congregations ought to have such officers, ordinances, and administrations, among themselves, as God hath instituted."

But there was some scrupling at the expressions: wherefore Mr. *Palmer,* being chairman of the committee for the summary, was desired to relate what he thought concerning this matter, which that committee had just now in hand; and he excepted at the word "ought;" and therefore there ought to be one or more, both to labour in the word and doctrine, and to rule, and others to assist them in government, and some deacons also, whose proper office is to take care of the poor; the number of all which are to be proportioned according of the quantity of the congregation.

Whereupon I moved that we might fall upon these officers piecemeal; and so, first, we fell upon this proposition, or clause,—"Every single congregation ought to have one, at the least, both to labour in the word and doctrine, and to rule."

This was ready to be ordered, when Mr. *Carter* excepted at the word "ruling," which cost some debate: and that being done, it was ordered. After which there was some doubt made at the "one at the least;" and therefore it was tendered that "one pastor," or "one preaching presbyter," or the like, might be added, to avoid the Brownists' teaching: but it was thought fit to stick to the Scripture-phrase, which the proposition carried; and so it was passed. Then were places produced to prove it, as Prov. xxix. 18, at which there were some exceptions, but passed; and so did 1 Tim. v. 17, Heb. xiii. 7. 17.

Then fell we upon the other officers, and it cost some time for the hewing up of the expressions for them: and, first, about deacons, whether it should be "there ought," or "it is fit," or "requisite," there should be deacons; and whether to say "to care for the poor," or to add, "for their own poor and for the poor of neighbouring congregations:" at the last it was framed and passed in these terms: "It is also requisite that there be one at least to the care of the relief of the poor;" Acts vi. 32.

Then for the ruling-elder there was some question, whether to call him "an assistant,"—for the Independents thought that abased him. At last it was passed thus,—"It

is also requisite that there be one at least to join with the minister in ruling;" 1 Cor. xii. 2, 3.

Then did we change the order of these two last propositions, setting this of elders first.

Then Mr. *Henderson*, being but newly come in, excepted against the oneship of an elder in the congregation: "for how can there be," saith he, "an eldership, where there is but one elder?" This also Mr. *Rutherford* followed him in, and this cost a serious debate: for the Scots' commissioners did conceive that we did not here come near enough to them: we feared that more numbers of the elders would bring several inconveniencies: Mr. *Rutherford* and Mr. *Gillespie* again and again replied. Mr. *Gillespie* urged these reasons: —1. The custom of the Jews, from Ezra x, elders of the city, and rulers of the synagogue. 2. One man cannot discharge the duty of a ruling-elder. 3. If one be set apart to so great a work, he must needs be maintained.

This was answered again and again, and the debate raught to a great length, and to a little distaste of the Scots.

The conclusion of the long business,—for it held us till our rising,—was this, that it came to a temper, and divers things were tendered. Mr. *Palmer* offered this:—"The officers in every single congregation ought to be such as either to labour in the word and doctrine and ruling, or to join with them in ruling, or to take care for the poor."

This at the first was like to take; but upon a little consideration it was refined; and I among others moved, that the word "ought" might be changed into "requisite;" which Mr. *Henderson* liked not. Divers other objections were made by divers: so that was left, and this was tendered:—"The officers of particular congregations are ministers of the word, who are both to labour in the word and doctrine, and to rule, and church governors to join with them in ruling, and deacons to take care of the relief of the poor; the number of all which ought to be according to the proportion of the congregation." Here again I excepted the word "are," and was backed, in the exception, by Dr. *Burgess* and others: so that this also was laid by, and the matter referred till the next sitting; and so we adjourned.

May 6—10.]—The whole week I was away settling my household at Munden, which I had now brought down thither. The business in the Assembly in this time, for the main, was this:—

The proposition about which we parted unresolved on Friday, was taken in hand again, and canvassed; and after a long time and debate it was laid down, only couched thus: —"In every congregation there ought to be one at the least to labour in the word and doctrine and to rule. It is also requisite that there be others to assist him in ruling, and some to take care for the poor: the number of each of which is to be proportioned according to the condition of the congregation."

On Monday (this being so finished before) they fell upon this proposition in the report of the second committee: —"No single congregation, which may conveniently join together in an association, may assume unto itself all and sole power of ordination."

And this held them tugging with the Independents the rest of that day, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday: at last, on Friday, it came to the question, and voted "in terminis," by twenty-seven, and denied by nineteen. And this business had been managed with the most heat and confusion of any thing that had happened among us.

There also, in conclusion of the day, emerged a business about Mr. *Sympson*, before our Assembly, being set in a lecture about the city; which cost some hot debate; for Mr. *Palmer* spake very roundly and plainly in it, and against him.

Tuesday, May 14.]—This morning I was again come into the Assembly. And the first thing done was, that Mr. *Marshal* reported, from the committee of the summary; but he said what he reported, was not the determination of the committee either negatively or affirmatively, but one tendered it for our debating.

Concerning the officers of particular congregations, they have power,

1. Authoritatively to call before them scandalous or suspected persons.
2. To admonish or rebuke authoritatively.
3. To keep from the sacrament authoritatively.
4. To excommunicate.

Dr. *Gouge* desired that an expression might be, that this power belongs to them only in their own congregation: and Mr. *Marshal* shewed the mind of the committee was to understand, by "officers," only the preaching and ruling officers, and not the deacon included.

The words "of that congregation" were added to the first proposition,—"scandalous or suspected persons of that congregation." This proposition was ordered to pass without any debate.

Then did Mr. *Palmer* read some things done and passed in the same committee, as leading to these propositions:—

The government of the church belongs either to congregations, or presbyteries, or synods.

1. There ought to be fixed congregations: *i.e.* a certain company of Christians to meet in one assembly ordinarily for public worship.

2. In this company some must be set apart to bear office.

3. The officers are voted already by the Assembly.

4. These officers are to meet together at convenient and set times, for the well-ordering of the affairs of the congregation.

5. In these meetings, one, whose office is to labour in word and doctrine, is to moderate in the proceedings.

And then come in the propositions reported by Mr. *Marshal.*

Then was there some exception at the phrase "a certain company:" which Dr. *Gouge* criticked upon thus:—"certain" is "quidam;" "certain"[*] is "certus." But we first begun upon the things in order. And in the first, Mr. *Goodwin* began to scruple at the business of the synods: so this cost some debate; but the conclusion was, that that was set down for form.

Dr. *Gouge* moved, that something might be added to the first proposition, to give the civil magistrate his due: but this was thought to be done sufficiently already.

Then was some scrupling at the word 'congregation' in the epigraphe: for it was doubted that to say 'the government belongs to the congregation' would put the power into the people: so that it was, upon debate, changed into these terms: "Of church government in congregations, presbyteries, and synods."

Then fell we upon the first proposition: and here the word "certain" was again excepted against; and the words "ought to be," and the word "fixed:" and these scruples held a long debate. At last it was put to the question, whether, instead of "there ought," it should be expressed "it is lawful and expedient:" and it was voted affirmatively, and the proposition so passed.

The second proposition was passed without any debate, and so was the third, being only a former vote.

The fourth held some debate in regard that the deacons are not to govern: at last it was concluded upon in these terms:—"These officers are to meet," &c. each one according to his office.

The fifth proposition held some debate; for Mr. *Coleman* urged for some proof of it, and alleged the course of the Sanhedrim, where a priest was not always moderator. I answered, That was a civil court; *ergo*, an unfit example. Mr. *Goodwin* thought the ruling-elder fittest for moderation. This was answered by divers again and again: yet would not the Independents let it fall, but urged the business with a great deal of vehemency. At last, it was concluded in these terms; "It is most expedient," &c. and so passed: but the sense of the Assembly was for the preaching presbyter to be the moderator: but this temper was put in, for the Independents' urgency.

Then did Mr. *Gillespie* urge for a proof of this proof: so 1 Tim. v. 17, was voted for it.

Then fell we upon the report of Mr. *Marshal:* and the first was voted before, but the words "the ruling officers" were put in now,—to exclude the deacons from ruling.

Mr. *Goodwin* excepted against the word "suspected," as drawing near to the High Commission: and Mr. *Seaman* backed him in it, and moved that "accused" might be put in for it: but this Mr. *Goodwin* liked not. Dr. *Smith* moved "scandalous" only might suffice, but "accused" was accepted, and so the proposition passed.

Then Mr. *Delafor* moved a more largeness be given to the proposition; viz. that the ruling officers might have power to call before them any of the congregation. This was held a very needful motion, and was strongly backed: whereupon it was determined upon in these terms,—"Authoritatively to call before them any member of the congregation as they shall see just occasion; especially, the scandalous," &c.

But the last clause, "especially the scandalous," &c. was excepted against and voted against.

Mr. *Seaman* moved, that 'some proposition might be put in to express their power to inquire into the congregation for catechising, &c. as tending much to reformation:' which

was much approved of by all, but held not here to be methodical, or the proper place. Howbeit, it cost much debate, and at last it was brought to a question, and voted to be taken in hand in this place: and so we were ready to adjourn. But Mr. *Channel*, before we rose, imparted to us, from my Lord General, that on Friday next he kept the fast in his army: and therefore desired, that the Assembly would think of them that day in our prayers, and send two or three members of it into the city, to hold a solemn fast in some place that day. This was cheerfully embraced; and it was concluded, that Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Burgess*, and Mr. *Whittacre* should go to Christ's Church; and that Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Arrowsmith*, Mr. *Seaman*, and Mr. *Burroughs*, should perform the exercise of the day in the Assembly: and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, May 15.]—This day our first work was, that Mr. *Ley*, having read his order for ministers for sequestrations, moved that some time and help be allowed for examination of such men: and this motion brought in the hint of some men's preaching where, and how, and as they please, without either examination here, or warrant from the committee of sequestration: and Mr. *Palmer* instanced in one in a sequestration, set in there by the people, that is neither academic, nor in orders, nor sound in opinion: and also Mr. *Roburgh* did instance in Mr. *Locker* in Grace Church, that publicly cries out in his sermons against persecution, and the church-wardens ready to bring in another Independent. This business cost some long debate, but was referred to another time.

Then Dr. *Stanton* reported, from the second committee, some reasons to prove that proposition that had cost so much debate the last week; and at last was voted. His report was to this purpose:—

1. They do not find in Scripture that any single congregation, which might conveniently associate, did assume to themselves all and sole power for ordination; nor do they find any rule which may warrant such a practice.

2. We read that a presbytery over divers congregations associated, did ordain, as in Jerusalem.

3. We find no reason why a single congregation, which can associate, should divest a classical presbytery of this due to it.

4. This crosseth the first pattern, Acts vi. in two things: 1. In not associating when they may: 2. In ordaining, not being associated.

After this report, Mr. *Reynolds* moved, that this proposition, upon which the reasons are given in, might be tempered and qualified: which took up a serious debate. At last, it came to the question, and was voted, that it should be read, "It is very requisite," &c.; but I gave my negative to it, and so did Mr. *Seaman*, and so did few else, if any at all.

Then fell we upon the reasons brought in, this morning, to prove it.

The first reason was read, and a long silence upon it, and it was called to be ordered: when some of the contrary judgment would fain stop it, but could not tell what to say to it.

Now came the Scots' commissioners in, and they took it not well that the proposition was altered: and this cost again a fresh debate: after which we returned to our reasons again.

Mr. *Herle:* The Scripture holds out in 1 Tim. iv. 17, that where there is a presbytery, there may be ordination. And Acts xiii. there were but three in the presbytery, and yet they ordained.

Mr. *Rutherford* answered him: A presbytery, quà presbytery, is not the subject of ordination. In Acts xiii. it is not said, that there were three only: nor was the church of Antioch a single congregation.

Mr. *Walker* answered, That this was not an ordination of Paul and Barnabas, for they were set apart by God himself.

Mr. *Newcomen* desired to be answered in this: Your revoking the proposition shews it is not a theological position: *ergo*, particular congregations may ordain.

Here began a very round debate again upon the proposition, which held an hour or two. Then fell we upon the first reason again, which took up our whole time; and no conclusion on it.

Our last business was choosing a committee to write letters to the General Assembly of Scotland: which is to sit on this day fortnight, as letters thence inform.

This day a part of the Psalms, translated and turned into metre, as we thought, by Mr. *Roberts*, was given to every one of us.

Thursday, May 16.]—Our work this morning was upon our reasons upon which we were yesterday in debate. And first Dr. *Gouge* moved, That our reasons should not be heightened to such a pitch; to which I answered, that I saw no reason to start at more light, if it may be shewed.

Mr. *Rutherford* moved the proposition might be expressed, "The Scriptures hold forth," &c. But Mr. *Marshal* opposed: and here began our tug: which while we were about, a sermon, preached by Mr. *Caryll* before the House of Commons, upon the thanksgiving day for my Lord *Fairfax's* victory, was given to each of us.

Our debate grew long and hot, and there was much "pro et contra" upon it: and at last we had it very near the question, when Mr. *Carter* interposed, and Mr. *Herle*, Mr. *Nye*, and Mr. *Burroughs*. At last, with extreme tugging, we got it to the question, and was carried so narrowly, that it was thrice put to it before it could be determined; and there arose a great heat; and at last it was carried affirmatively, by four voices, that the first reason should be brought to prove the proposition.—I gave my affirmative.

Then fell we upon the second reason: "We find that a classical presbytery did ordain," &c. And this the dissenting party urged to go to the question, thinking this reason not to make a clear conclusion upon the proposition, "A classical presbytery did ordain;" *ergo*, a single congregation may not. This scoff cost some heat and long debate: and the thing itself spent abundance of time: at last it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, some five votes difference. There I suspended my vote.

This vote being past, the committee, appointed for the drawing up a letter to the General Assembly in Scotland, brought it in, and it was read; and being read, divers exceptions were taken at it, as being of too high and flourishing a style; and, among others, I excepted at two expressions, &c. It was, therefore, recommitted; and so we adjourned.

Friday, May 17.]—This day we had and kept our fast.

Mr. *Marshal* first prayed; then Mr. *Arrowsmith* preached out of Hag. ii. 4, 5; then Mr. *Vines* prayed; then Mr. *Palmer* preached out of Psal. lxxi. 1, 2; and, lastly, Mr. *Seaman* concluded with prayer: and after all we had a collection, of about three pounds, which we disposed to the poor of Westminster. Before we adjourned, the letter re-

committed yesterday was brought in, read, and, without any debate at all, passed.

Monday, May 20.]—This day I was at Munden. The work of the Assembly was, the debating of the next proposition in the summary, concerning particular congregations, viz. "That they have power to suspend from the sacrament;" which cost all the day in debating, and was not concluded on neither, but referred till the next day.

There were three books given this day in the Assembly —Mr. Green's Sermons, and two books of Mr. Smart's; which though I lost now, yet were given to me the next day.

Tuesday, May 21.]—This morning I was come into the Assembly, and our first work was, that Mr. *Valentine* motioned, from some in the city, for the putting in vigour of the ordinance for the sanctification of the sabbath; and presented a draught from them to that purpose; whereupon, a committee was chosen upon it.

Then was there some business about Mr. *Brooks* of Whitechapel, his admission to Martin's; for Dr. *Gough* moved, "That some of our Assembly might have it;" but this, at last, was laid by.

Mr. *Case* then moved, in behalf of old Mr. *Smart*, who gave us our books, that some course might be taken for his relief; which was at last resolved in this, "That the city's ministers should take some thoughts of it, to promote it among their people."

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was this proposition:—"Authoritative suspension from the Lord's table of a person not yet cast out of the church, is agreeable to the Scripture."

But before we could step into it, Mr. *Rutherford* moved for the speeding of the Directory for worship; which was backed by Mr. *Marshal;* and Mr. *Foxcroft* moved for the hastening of the Antinomian committee: these were well liked; and for the Directory, an order was made to bring in some report on Friday; and Mr. *Foxcroft* was added to the Antinomian committee, and an order made that Monday next be the day of meeting, and so on Tuesday every week.

Then fell we upon our proposition; and it was moved by Dr. *Hoyle*, that "authoritative" might be left out; and Mr. *Coleman*, out of 1 Cor. xi. shewed, that the thing seemeth to be contrary to Scripture.

Mr. *Case* urged Matt. iii. " O generation of vipers," &c. that John refused none.

Mr. *Gattaker* answered Mr. *Coleman*, that " drunk" in 1 Cor. xi. is but the same with וישתו of Joseph's brethren ; that the poor sat hungring, and the rich sat drinking freely by.

Mr. *Young:* It may be a member of a congregation may so fall, as not to be fit to be admitted to the sacrament: now, by whom is he to be restrained, but for the officers? In the law we find a forbearing to meddle with holy things for a while, as Num. ix. &c. And he alleged Matt. vii. " Ne detis sancta canibus;" alleged by Cyprian and Chrysostom to this purpose, " None admitted to baptism but such as gave account of their faith.

Celsus objected to Origen, the baseness of the lives of Christians. Origen answered, That these that were so enormous, were not admitted to the sacrament.

In our rubric there hath been a provision for such a thing.

Mr. *Gillespie:* There is a warrant from Scripture for this:—1. The analogy of the law; unclean persons were debarred from the holy things, and from the holy places, Num. ix. and 2 Chron; [*] beyond Jordan, for the unclean.

There is a twofold separation: 1. From the sanctuary; 2. From the congregation. Now, every one that was separate from the congregation, was not from the sanctuary, as the woman delivered of a male or female; and 2 Chron. iii. those unclean persons, that were unclean, should not have been cast out of Israel: and the Jews themselves consent, that the unclean might come into ' Atrium Israelis,' but not farther.

2. We know that church-members may profane the holy things, and that the officers are to keep ordinances from profanation.

1 Cor. xi. we read of unworthy receivers, which were, indeed, visible saints, but such belike as had eaten in εἰδωλείῳ.

3. The Scripture gives warrant to private Christians to suspend those that walk inordinately, from Christian fellowship: now Christian fellowship is an ordinance, ' in suo genere;' and then the other, &c.

Mr. *Calamy:* A great difference there is betwixt ab-

stention and excommunication: suspension is a mere negative, and excommunication is a positive act. 'Niddui, cherem' and 'anathema' differed; and our divines hold excommunication 'minor, major, et maxima.'

That power, without which the sacrament cannot be kept from open profanation, that power is not to be denied to the church: but,—*ergo.*

I come minister to a church, I find many godly people, and many other; now these are alike admitted to the sacrament; what shall I do—forbear the sacrament? I suspend all the church:—admit them? I suffer the profanation. That power, without which the officers are necessitated to be partakers of another man's sins, and to give damnation to their people—that power is not to be denied: but,—*ergo.*

The practice of New England is, not to receive any that is under any censure, to the sacrament.

Chrysostom on Matt. speaking to his ministers, "If you be afraid to keep the wicked from the sacrament, send for me."

Those sins which ought to keep a man from the sacrament, these being known, do authorize the officer to keep them away, &c. Matt. v. 24; a private man here is suspended for his malice.

If a private man in malice ought to abstain from converting ordinance, much more from the sealing ordinance.

Mr. *Reynolds:* Here are two questions: 1. Whether scandalous sinners ought to be kept from the sacrament? 2. Whether before they be cast out? Zanchy writes to Frederick the Third to prove the former: 1. They that are in communion with Satan: 2. That have not remission of sins: 3. That cannot make a comfortable commemoration of Christ's death, &c. ought not to come to the second.

For the second he proved, 1. From the degrees of punishment which are to be applied to the atrocity of the crimes. "Suspensio ab usu cœnæ, &c. quæ nihil aliud est quam gradus ad excom."

2. If there be no suspension without excommunication, then either every impenitent sinner ought to be excommunicated, or else admitted to the sacrament.

Three kinds of sin; the lust of flesh, of eye, of life; wisdom, world, sensual devilishness: excommunication is to be for the last of both, and not for the other.

Mr. *Herle* answered: In Num. ix. those that were unclean, &c. he questioned, whether they were types of sins; and those unclean came and confessed to Moses. Now our proposition is of no such things.

2. 'Sancta canibus' is meant of holy admonitions.

3. 1 Cor. xi. "visible saints," *i. e.* visible to those without: then a member is not to be cut off, while he is a member; if visible, indeed, then hath he interest to the sacrament.

The apostle doth there 'de instituto,' instruct the church of Corinth, and yet doth not give the officers charge concerning the suspension.

4. A private brother indeed may abstain from one disordinate; so may an officer do—but no more.

5. Giving up to Satan is not hissing Satan upon him, but withholding his armour against Satan from him, and so suspending doth by him; and, therefore, there is no difference.

6. Those that can judge of a man, are to do so by admonition; and if that will not serve the turn, by excommunication to keep him from the sacrament; and so they need not to be partakers of other men's sins.

Mr. *Marshal* confessed, That till this day he was not so fully satisfied in the point in hand; but now he was fully swayed to the proposition to agree with it.

He again rejoined to Mr. *Herle* in several particulars; as, in point of the legal pollutions, that it is positive law made after the first time to prohibit the unclean, &c., and so he went on from point to point.

Mr. *Goodwin:* 1. A man is not to be kept from the sacrament by the minister alone. 2. Not till such time as he is found guilty upon sufficient witness; for he is not to be kept away upon suspicion.

1. That which one church should do to a member of another church among them, may be done to their own: now, if such a one sin among them, they cannot excommunicate him, but may withdraw from him; and so they can only do to their own.

2. Their admission to the Lord's Supper, with an admonition, may bring them to repentance, and, possibly, as well as suspension.

3. The things in the Old Testament, which the Holy

Ghost hath laid down in analogy, should be considered. Now in Lev. xxii. the priests must not eat of the holy things; and, answerably, the ministers may restrain a scandalous person, lest the holy things should be profaned.

4. 2 Thess. iii. "If any walk disordinately," &c. The apostle speaks not so high here, as not eating with, and delivering to Satan; and, *ergo*, means some lesser excommunication.

He concluded, that his judgment fell in with the proposition, but only he liked not the authoritative doing it.

Mr. *Gillespie* also answered some of Mr. *Herle's* answers.

Then I spake: 1. That though the law forbid the unclean to come 'ad sacra,' yet doth it not give power to any to repel those that offer themselves to come; nor find we any such example.

2. That in Matt. vii. 'Sancta canibus' is for the apostles' safety. For the Jews themselves, who use this proverb, as Mr. *Marshal*, by 'dogs and swine,' understand the bitter enemies and persecutors of the truth; and so our Saviour warrants his disciples, though they preach not to persecutors and enemies, lest it cost their lives.

3. Circumcision was indifferently administered to all the seed of Abraham: *ergo*.

4. Judas received the sacrament: *ergo*.

Mr. *Seaman* went about to answer me, and so did Dr. *Burgess* and Dr. *Hoyle;* viz. Mr. *Seaman* and Dr. *Burgess*, That the priests in the command laid upon the people had power to suspend. I returned, that there is no such example. Mr. *Goodwin* instanced in Uzziah. I answered, that was 'ab officio et loco.' And withal I said, Grant the priest did and might repel the unclean, yet the case was different; for that uncleanness was external, and it might be known whether they were purified or no; but so cannot a minister now judge of a man's conscience, for though he was scandalous yesterday, yet may his repentance be unfeigned by to-day, for aught he knows. Dr. *Burgess* urged, That though Christ was καρδιογνώστης, yet Judas's villany was not now known among his disciples. I answered Christ had publicly marked him out for a traitor before. Dr. *Hoyle* urged, After the supper he went out. I answered, That was no Passover or sacrament, but before it. And here we had a large discourse upon this, and the Assembly gave

Mr. *Palmer* and me leave to debate the point something largely: but at last they called the proposition to the question, and voted it affirmatively, but I gave my 'No.'

Wednesday, May 22.]—The first thing done this day was, that two new members, Mr. *Hicks* and Mr. *Hardwick*, divines, came into the Assembly, and took the protestation. And Mr. *Hardwick* being my Lord General's chaplain, in the name of my Lord, gave thanks to the Assembly, for their remembrance of him the last Friday.

Then fell we upon our work: and Dr. *Hoyle* offered to dispute the matter about Judas against me; but the Assembly would not suffer him, but fell to draw up some arguments to confirm our proposition yesterday: and Dr. *Gouge* urged Lev. xiii. about the suspension of the leper. I answered, that was a civil, not a sacred, end; for the infection was dangerous. and the leper when he was fullest of leprosy, he came 'ad sacra.'

Mr. *Gibbon*, out of 2 Chron. xxiii. 19, proved the priest had power, under the law, to repel the unclean.

Then began we to take up Matt. vii. 6. and I opposed it, and desired that the verse might be taken up in this sense, that they would produce it, "Give not the sacrament to dogs, lest they rend you;" and how did this agree? and "dogs" in Scripture doth most constantly signify an enemy: and in this was I backed by Mr. *Whittacre*.

Mr. *Rutherford* opposed me, and would have "dogs" to be taken in the largest sense, and "holy things" in the largest sense.

Mr. *Gattaker* replied upon him, and held, that "dogs" meant not those without the church, for the doctrine of salvation is to be offered to those without; but that "dogs and swine" meant scorners and opposers of the holy things proposed to them;—and so he backed me in my interpretation.

Mr. *Seaman* pleaded for the place, and found two reasons for it not given: 1. From the pearls, which are not to be trampled upon; and this hath reference to the ordinances: and, 2. From the persons, lest they should be rent; and would prove this doctrine, not only from our Saviour, but Moses, nay, the law of nature.

Mr. *Herle* took him up in a fallacy of a "malè divisis" in

his two reasons; and held that the place speaks of enemies and scorners.

Mr. *Bridges* urged, that some holy things may be given to scandalous; *ergo*, it cannot mean them.

Mr. *Bathurst* analyzed the chapter: 1. Christ deals against private judgment. 2. By whom admonition? not by one who is himself guilty. 3. In this verse he shews to whom that admonition is to be administered; and he understood it only of admonition.

Mr. *Seaman* would not allow of any such analytic connexion, but that the several verses are several heads of doctrine: and he argued to prove the disjunction of the two reasons; and withal said, that we had not yet proved the restrictive sense of "dogs." I answered, that the word in Scripture, where it once signifies a profane man at large, it does many times, for that once, signify either those without, or utter enemies of the truth.

Mr. *Goodwin:* This is plainly meant of admonition, for no other thing will provoke the dogs to rend or bite one: the sacrament will not cause it; and he conceived, that "dogs and swine" were terms too high for a member of the church that is not apostatized utterly.

Mr. *Walker* argued, dogs and swine were unclean under the law; *ergo*. I replied with strength in this argument—Dogs and swine were unclean in the law to be eaten; *ergo*, a profane man may not eat the sacrament.

Dr. *Smith* would find two things and persons here: 1. Holy things, *i. e.* admonition; and this is referred to dogs, which are docile creatures: and pearls—sacrament—which swine, which is all for the belly, find no sweetness in.

Mr. *Gibson:* If we refuse to give them the sacrament, then they will lacerate, rather than when we give it them.

Mr. *Carter*, junior: Though this prove a scandalous person to be excluded, yet doth it not prove that such is a dog, till he be excommunicated.

At last the text was putting to the question; and then began Mr. *Seaman* to plead again for the place, thus: The ordinances are not to be administered where they will be profaned: but when a scandalous person cometh, &c. I denied the major, and Mr. *Burroughs* and Mr. *Herle* backed me in it. Mr. *Seaman*, in proving it, construed "to tread

under foot," to neglect or slight. I answered, that neither the word in the Hebrew in the Old Testament, nor in the Greek in the New, signifieth in that sense. Then came it to the question; and here was a debate, whether the question should be, "This shall be brought to prove, or towards the proof:" and this debate brought on other debate of other things; and, among other, Mr. *Marshal* spake his mind upon this text; and urged, Isaiah calls them that abused the prophet, "dogs," "witches," "children," &c. and so would infer, that some are called "dogs," that have church standing. "Give not;" *i. e.* every one in his station should be careful, that holy ordinances be not profaned by dogs or swine.

Mr. *Rutherford:* Men are not called 'dogs and swine' only for uncleanness, but for some particular act: as Psalm lxxi. 'I am a beast,' &c. *i. e.* for distrusting God.

Mr. *Burroughs* answered, That this is spoken in depth of humility: and quæritur, whether the church might so judge of him?

Mr. *Newcomen* put this syllogism:—He that doth trample under foot the sacrament, must not have it given him: but a scandalous person doth trample under foot the sacrament: *ergo*. I denied the minor, for that καταπάτησον signifieth not profaning, but a higher maliciousness and mischievousness than ordinary slightening. And here we began a long and large debate again, upon this and other things.

At last it was put to the question, and voted, that Matt. vii. 6, shall be brought to prove the proposition: I gave my negative to it: and so we adjourned till to-morrow.

Thursday, May 23.]—Our first business to-day was, that Mr. *Sedgwick,* from my Lady *Fairfax,* desired the prayers of the Assembly for Sir *Thomas Fairfax,* her husband, who is very sick and weak.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was to debate 2 Thess. iii. 6. 14, for a proof of the proposition before us about suspension.

Mr. *Rutherford* cited divers expositors that understand the place of excommunication, and so he understands it himself; and he gave these reasons for it:—1. Because the apostle would not forbid fellowship utterly with any till excommunicate. 2. The offence is not one particular act, but a general disobedience to the apostle's doctrine.

Mr. *Marshal* pleaded for the place to be only for the purpose of suspension; and so did Dr. *Temple:* and so Mr. *Rutherford,* and they changed some dispute. Mr. *Herle* backed Mr. *Rutherford.*

Mr. *Gillespie* was of another mind, and pleaded for the place for suspension: so did Mr. *Goodwin* out of Cartwright upon the Rhemists, and out of Musculus and Aretius: and he gave these reasons:—1. Because, in 1 Cor. v. he addeth more here, "no, not to eat." 2. That he may be ashamed: in 1 Cor. it is, "that the body may be destroyed."

I desired to know, how this privative proof would come up to a positive proposition: for the proposition is of suspending another from the sacrament, and this of suspending ourselves and company from another. Mr. *Whittacre* backed me in this, and added, that this withdrawing is but in private converse, not in public ordinances: and he shewed some reasons to prove this exposition out of Erasmus. Divers other things were spoken upon this, "pro et contra," and, among other things said, Dr. *Burgess* gave me an answer, that though the terms be different in the proposition and text, yet the sense is the same. I answered, that in Matt. i. 19, for ἀπολῦσαι αὐτὴν, Erasmus and Brucioli the Italian render it, "He would depart from her:" which I conceived do much change the sense, and speak not of a divorce at all from Joseph, but make him passive.

Mr. *Palmer* answered me again: That the apostle, giving so strict a charge, maketh the passive an active. I answered, דברה תורה בלשון אדם; "the law speaks in the language of men," that the reader or hearer may best understand: now, if the apostle had mainly intended actively, I conceive he would have spoken actively. But at last the place was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, *nemine contradicente,* but myself.

Then fell we upon 1 Cor. xi. 27, for another proof.

Mr. *Coleman:* This sheweth that unworthy receivers came to the sacrament. Mr. *Gillespie* said, This infers that a member, not cut off, may so do: *ergo,* to be prevented that he be not guilty. Dr. *Temple* says, That the prevention is in the next verse, viz. self-examination.

Mr. *Whittacre* urged, That here is a sign that the unworthy receiving is visible, and the officers must not see him sin: and he exemplified in Eli.

Mr. *Marshal* was against the place as impregnant, and so was Mr. *Herle*, and divers others, and myself; and this debate held a very long time. At last it was put to the question, with these texts, Jude 23, 1 Tim. v. 22, joined to it, and was voted affirmatively *nemine contradicente*, but myself.

Then Mr. *Hill* tendered 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2, and Mr. *Seaman* Matt. xxiv. 25, to be added; but these were not insisted on.

Friday, May 24.]—This morning the chairman from the committee for the Directory for worship reported largely concerning the Lord's day, and prayer, and preaching; which held the Assembly work all the next week, while I was at Munden, because of the fast: and the business about the sabbath and the Directory for prayer was passed.

Tuesday, June 4.]—This day I was returned to the Assembly. The first thing done was, that Dr. *Temple* moved for some stricter course about examination of ministers, which was well resented, and followed with much earnestness: whereupon a committee was chosen for the purpose, and I nominated among the rest, &c.

Then came some mention concerning Mr. *Smart*, the old divine of Durham, for some collection for him, which held long time: at last a committee was chosen for to take this into consideration, and to recommend the wants of some of the Assembly to the Houses.

Then Mr. *Palmer* reported from the committee for the Directory:—1. That the Lord's prayer is to be used: 2. That sermons may be made either upon some text of Scripture, or else upon a whole psalm or chapter, as the minister shall think fit. Both these were ordered with little debate. Mr. *Whittacre* opposed our making a Directory for preaching, as needless and not expected: and he queried of what use this Directory should be; and other business cost a long time: at last it was concluded affirmatively.

Then came this clause to handling,—"The preacher shall handle so much for each time, as may be kept in memory by the hearers," &c. This cost large debate, about long sermons, and whether the people's memory must be the stint of sermons: at last the clause was put to the question, and voted negatively, or not to stand.

Then did we proceed farther upon the report, till adjourning time.

Wednesday, June 5.]—The first thing done this day was, that Dr. *Hoyle*, being chairman of our committee for examination of some proposed for fellows of houses in Cambridge, reported the names of divers that we had examined and approved,—which were accordingly approved by the Assembly.

Then fell we upon the work of the day; which was to proceed upon the Directory for preaching: as, 1. What the preacher speaks, be the truth of God: 2. That it be contained in that text.

Mr. *Tuckney* spake something concerning the prescription of preaching by doctrine, reason, and use, as too strait for the variety of gifts, and occasion doth claim liberty: which Dr. *Gouge* followed: and so did Mr. *Gattaker:* which was concluded by an addition in the close or preface,—that this method is not prescribed to every man, nor upon every occasion, but is recommended upon the experience of the benefit that hath accrued by it: but it cost a great deal of time, before we could find terms for it.

3. That it be such a truth as is principally intended in the place. This was much gainsaid by divers, and by myself amongst others, and I alleged these three places in one chapter, Matt. ii; "Out of Egypt have I called my son;" "In Rama was a voice heard;" and "He shall be called a Nazarite;" which the evangelist quoted besides the principal intent of the prophet: whereupon it was thus expressed, "principally intended," or "what is most for edification."

The entry or preface to these rules was thus,—"In raising his doctrine from the several parts of the text." This I excepted against: for, said I, one may have occasion to take this word "Amen" alone for a text: whereupon it was thus changed, "In raising his doctrine from the place."

4. "The doctrine is to be plain:" and if it be obscure, it is to be explained, and consequents cleared. Here there was opposal against any obscurity in the doctrine at all: and this cost some debate.

5. The parallel places are rather to be plain and pertinent, than many.

6. The reasons not to be subtle or conjectural, but convincing.

7. The illustrations "whether from comparisons," &c. to

be plain and full of light: but this expression, "from comparisons, contraries," &c. was not liked.

8. If any doubts seem to arise, from Scripture, obvious reason, or prejudice, to reconcile the seeming differences of Scripture, to answer the reasons, and to discover the cause of prejudice and mistaking. Here I excepted against the word "discover," as lower than the other terms, and I tendered "to remove;" whereupon this was added,—"to discover and remove."

Mr. *Herle* excepted against the phrase "obvious reason:" whereupon it was put to the vote, and the word "obvious" was voted out of that place, and changed into another.

9. To bring down the doctrine to use and application, &c.

10. In the use of instruction, he is to propound a few arguments, but those firm arguments; ordinarily, &c. But this was gainsaid, laid by, and referred to the committee.

11. In confutation, he is neither to raise an old heresy, nor to mention any blasphemous error unnecessarily: but if the people be in danger of any error, he is to confute it soundly, and to endeavour to satisfy their consciences.

12. In exhorting to Christian duties, he is to teach also the means to be used. This we went not through, but adjourned.

Thursday, June 6.]—Our first business this morning was, a debate about a minister for Sevenoaks in Kent, about which there is some controversy. When this was over, we fell to the work of the day, which was upon the Directory. When we were entering upon, Mr. *Marshal* reported from the committee for the Directory a little concerning the sacrament.

1. The communion or supper to be celebrated frequently, but how oft is to be determined by the ministers and officers of each congregation, as they shall find most convenient for the comfort and edification of the people in their charge.

2. None to be admitted, but such as, being baptized, are found, upon careful examination by the ministers before the officers, to have a competent measure of knowledge of the grounds of religion, and ability to examine themselves, and who profess their willingness and promise to submit themselves to all the ordinances of Christ. Or thus, Who give just grounds, in the judgment of charity, to conceive that there is faith and regeneration wrought in them. The igno-

rant, scandalous, &c. not to be admitted, nor strangers, unless they be well known. This being reported, we fell upon our Directory again.

"In exhorting to Christian duty, he is to teach, if he see cause, means to be used in attaining to it, &c. and these to press by places of Scriptures, &c. And because some may think they have attained it already, he may give, if need be, some signs for trial."—Here was a long debate about the forming of this, especially for the facing of the Antinomians, who deny signs from the word; and again, for the prevention of the danger which may follow through some men's indiscretion, to the disheartening of weak Christians: and at last it was referred to the committee again.

Then went we on.

"In dehortation, reprehension, and public admonition, which requires special wisdom, he is not only to discover the nature and greatness of the sin and misery that attends it, but also to shew the danger the hearers be in to be surprised by it, and means to escape the danger of it."

Here we stopped again, before this would off, because of the tediousness this course would bring to all sermons: but, at last, "as he sees cause," was added, and so it passed.

In this instant came Sir *John Clotworthy*, and brought in letters which came from beyond seas, from Basil, Zurich, Schafhausen, &c. He that brought them being an elder of the French church, was called in and thanked: and while the scribe was reading the letters to himself, that he might the better read them publicly, we went on:

"In making his use for comfort, &c. it is requisite that he give some clear notes that such comforts belong to afflicted consciences." This was again referred to the committee.

And then we went on.

"As he needs not always to handle every doctrine that ariseth out of the text, so is he to make choice of such uses as, by his residence, he findeth to be most necessary and seasonable." This was passed readily.

Then were there some general rules concerning the conscionableness, plainness; wherein was a clause against using Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and citing the fathers: which cost some debate. Mr. *Palmer* vehemently spake against any use of strange languages: and divers contraried him, and, among others, myself: and I pleaded, that the very

cadence of many sentences, in the Hebrew, is of divine observation; as in Gen. xi; and it is impossible to give the life and vigour of the text to the full of the Spirit, without the very citing of the words of the original; and that it will take ill abroad if we should declare any thing against languages. This business cost a long debate, and when all was done, we laid it by till to-morrow morning to be debated: and the letters out of Switzerland were read: wherein they tell, among other things they relate, "that reports were scattered abroad about our disloyalty:" but they do clearly believe our innocency; and do heartily commiserate our case, and encourage us in our work.

Friday, June 7.]—Our first work this day was, that Mr. *Ley* read his certificates for ministers that are recommended to sequestrations

Then the scribe read the names of those that are to attend the two Houses, to pray with them this next week: which were, myself for the House of Lords, and Mr. *Tisdale* for the House of Commons.

Then did Mr. *Hardwick*, Mr. *Hicke*, and Mr. *Bond*, take the covenant.

Next Dr. *Hoyle* reported the names of some scholars, to be recommended to fellowships.

Then Mr. *Palmer* reported Mr. *Smart's* business, for some supply to be made to him, first by beseeching the Lords to give sentence in that business that now depends before them; 2. That a collection might be made in the Assembly for his present wants. And as for the necessity of our members, that some Parliament-men might be spoken with about it.

After he had done, Dr. *Burgess* moved, that some representation might be made to the Houses, of the neglect of the people's paying their tithes, and some's flat denial of it. And this caused some discourse concerning this: and, amongst other examples of this nature, Mr. *Herle* said, that divers parishioners of his deny his ministry for Christian, but Levitical, for demanding of tithes. Hereupon was a committee appointed to take these things into consideration.

Then fell we upon the work of the day; which was, whether to "abstain in the pulpit from speaking of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew." Dr. *Temple* moved, that the clause might be left out. Mr. *Palmer* did vehemently urge that it might be kept in: and urged that it can be no discouragement for

learning: and that the church of France hath an article, that there be no mixture of languages in sermons. Dr. *Temple* rejoined to him. Mr. *Nye* held to the use of languages, but denied the use of human learning, as poets, &c. as too pedantical. Divers others spake very frequently and fully, 'pro et contra.' Upon this, I, among the rest, urged the place, "which, in Hebrew, is called Abaddon:" where, 1. the people, to whom John wrote, understood not Hebrew: 2. if I should preach upon this, how could I open it without the use of the Hebrew word אבד in Numb. xxiv. This debate held us out the day, and, in conclusion, it was again referred to the committee: and so we adjourned.

Monday, June 10.]—This day I was at Munden.

The work of the day was, the debating and voting the two propositions or orders of the Directory for the sacrament: viz. The communion is to be celebrated frequently, but how oft, is to be determined by the ministers and officers of the congregation, &c.

2. None to be admitted but such as, being baptized, are found, upon careful examination by the minister, before the officers, to have a competent measure of knowledge of the grounds of religion, and ability to examine themselves, and who profess their willingness and promise to submit themselves to all the ordinances of Christ, &c.: the ignorant, scandalous, &c. not to be admitted, &c.

Tuesday, June 11.]—This morning Mr. *Marshal* reported the Directory for prayer and reading, being now drawn up and perfected, by the committee to which it was referred. I was not at the report, for I was waiting upon the House of Lords praying with them: when I came into the Assembly, I found them in debating of this point,—"Whether any may read the Scripture, in public, but only the pastor and teacher." Mr. *Palmer* was very urgent, that none might read but they. Mr. *Herle* backed him: but many spake against them. And this debate held us all the morning; and when we had all done, we laid it by till to-morrow. When we were ready to adjourn, Mr. *Ley* read a petition to us from *Michael Sparke,* the stationer, for the suppression of all lascivious pictures and books. And withal we had sent in a catalogue of divers books fit to be suppressed. This was referred to a committee.

This day my Lord *Maitland* brought in some letters

newly come to the Scots' commissioners from the leaguer at York, containing relation how near it was got to the city, and what hopes of speedy taking it.

This morning also we had a collection in the Assembly, for old Mr. *Smart*, of Durham, and it amounted to fifteen pounds.

Wednesday, June 12.]—Our work to-day was where we left off yesterday; viz. upon this debate,—"Whether any one may read the Scriptures publicly, besides the minister:" this was canvassed 'pro et contra' exceedingly.

Mr. *Palmer* stood exceedingly upon it, that none but ministers should: his main reason was this, Because the word read is the mouth of God to the people, and who is to be so but a minister? and where do we find any pattern in Scripture to the contrary?

The main arguments to the contrary were, that the burden would prove too heavy to the minister, if he must read all; and that probationers,—or, as they are called in the reformed churches, expectants,—that intend for the ministry, may supply this work for their initiation.—To this I assented, and shewed, that, in the New Testament, we find the preachers to be differing from the readers, as Luke iv. the Law was read before Christ preached on it. So Acts xiii.: and so the Karraim among the Jews seemed to be the readers of the law, and the Pharisees, the expositors. This business held us all the morning, and when we had all done, it was referred again to the composure of the committee: and so we adjourned.

Thursday, June 13.]—The first business to-day was, that Dr. *Burgess* brought in a petition, or an information rather, of the straits of some of the Assembly in regard of maintenance, and of the pressure of exactions that lieth upon the good ministers generally through the land, and the people's denial, in many places, to pay their tithes; which being read, was sent up by a committee into the House of Commons.

There came also letters to us from Geneva; which being read, he that brought them was called in, and thanks given to him by the Prolocutor.

Then fell we upon the work of the day; viz. upon the business we had in hand yesterday. And, first, Mr. *Rutherford* produced 2 Kings ix. the example of a son of the prophets, or an expectant, that anointed Jehu: and by analogy, would

conclude, that those that are among us, may read the Scripture.—This argument cost some debate: and so we fell upon the whole business in hand, and much 'pro et contra' was upon it: and, among other passages, Mr. *Gillespie* took up my argument, that I had yesterday, about the Jews' having a reader of the law, and confirmed it out of Mr. Broughton: and he showed how we should cross reformed churches, if we would not admit of candidation. This debate held us all the day, with much agitation: at last it was put to the question in these words,—"It belongs to the pastor's and teacher's office publicly to read the word; yet such as intend the ministry, may occasionally both read the Scripture, and exercise their gifts in preaching in the congregation,—if allowed thereunto by the presbytery:" and it was voted to pass.

Then Mr. *Marshal* reported of the acceptance of the House of Commons of our information sent in to-day; and that government was determined readily [*] to be sent among us.

Sir *Robert Harlow* also related that the House of Commons sent him to the Lords with this information, and that they have concurred in it for the government; and that the committee will speedily take our petition into consideration.

Friday, June 14.]—This morning I was long attending on the Lords' House,—viz. till past eleven o'clock; but the work of the Assembly was the debating the Directory forward, about reading:—"How great a portion of the Scripture is to be read at every meeting, may be determined by the discretion of the minister; but we judge it convenient, that ordinarily one chapter of either Testament be read at such meeting, and sometimes more than one, when the shortness of the chapter, or order of the matter, requireth it:"—this was at last passed.

Then also was debated, and voted, "We also commend the more frequent reading of such Scripture, as he shall, in his discretion, find best for the edification of his people,—as, the book of the Psalms, and such-like." Here I was absent, else I should have excepted against the phrase of 'such-like.'

Then was read over the whole Directory for prayer, in which some insertions were made, and, among other, this clause, "freeing us from Antichristian darkness:" this I excepted against as too low; or that "Antichrist" importeth an activeness against godliness, and 'darkness' is but a

privation of godliness, &c. therefore it was added, "from Antichristian darkness and tyranny." And again, whereas it was thus,—"These things we ask for the merits of our high-priest;"—this I excepted against, for that the allusion would not hold; for that the Jews prayed to God by the mediation of the high-priest, but never by his merits: whereupon the words, "by the mediation," was put in. Then was there some exception at the clause of praising God for election, vocation, &c.; whether it may be used, seeing, in the congregation, there are some to whom it belongeth not. But it lay in such terms, as proved past exception: and so was our Directory passed.

Then did I tell, that my Lord of *Lincoln*, this day, came to me in the Lords' House, and showed, that that House expected something from us. Whereupon it was resolved to buckle close to work the next week, to finish a preface to our Directory, and to send it in to the Houses, and then to get a week's play or intermission from our work.

Then were some names read and approved of some young men, sent hither by my Lord of *Manchester* for fellowship.

Mr. *Byfield* also got leave to go into the country the next week: and so did Mr. *Wallis* to go to Cambridge, to be admitted fellow.

Monday, June 17.]—This day was I at Munden. The work of the day was debating again the business about speaking strange languages in the pulpit: which held all the day; and at last was concluded in a vote against the unnecessary and unprofitable use of it.

Tuesday, June 18.]—This day I was also at Munden. The work of the day was, that a report was made of the Directory for the sacrament: and these two things held debate upon it all the day,—1. Whether the ministers might pronounce two blessings, one after the sermon, another after the sacrament: and 2. whether any should be present at the sacrament who doth not communicate.—There was also some debate about the use of the decalogue; but, in fine, they were waved and laid by.

Wednesday, June 19.]—This morning our work was upon the Directory for the sacrament. And, first, a sad dispute befel about admonition of those that live in any known sin, not to come at the sacrament: and a great deal of circum-

spection was used, lest any weak Christian should be amated.

Then had we a long and serious debate upon admonition to be given to the ignorant; whether the word "gross," or some such word, should be put in, lest poor, tender consciences might here also take offence. These debates took up our whole time this morning; and at last we framed the business fitting, and so passed it.

Thursday, June 20.]—This morning we followed on in our Directory for the sacrament: about the ministers' coming to the table, and the people's posture about it; and the setting of the table for the conveniency of hearing and seeing: and this cost some debate, to find out terms of the most clearness and indifferency.

Then was there motion and mention concerning the posture in receiving, about sitting and kneeling. But, first, it was debated about the distance of the communicants from the table; for the nearer they sit, the less can communicate at once. And then returned to the posture of sitting or kneeling.

Mr. *Ley* first consented to any posture, but he agreed not upon the grounds given for posture: as, sitting for imitation of Christ, or to show rest in Christ; and showed, that, at a synod at Cracovia, sitting was excepted and decreed against, where either standing or kneeling were permitted.

Mr. *Gillespie* urged for the passage of the Directory in terminis, "the people sitting about the table:" which was backed by Dr. *Smith*, but gainsaid by Mr. *Nye:* and pleaded for liberty of posture, and not coming to the table, &c.

Mr. *Rutherford:* Some gestures are more convenient than others: and so is sitting: and yet the Directory sets it down historically, rather than preceptively.

Mr. *Nye* answered him, that ceremonies may as well be pleaded for.

Mr. *Rutherford* rejoined upon him: and so the debate grew serious and long: among others also, at last, Dr. *Burgess* offered this form,—"The people being placed;" which was accepted of.

Then took we up this clause, "About which they are placed:" because all the congregation cannot come about the table without confusion. Mr. *Marshal* said, The intent of the committee was, that the people should all sit down at

the table, company after company. And Dr. *Burgess* moved, that we should recommend the changing of the faces of our churches, by altering the pews, to make room: which Mr. *Marshal* contraried: but Mr. *Rutherford* backed the doctor. And here began a long debate of the necessity or conveniency of all the people coming to sit at the table: and at last it was concluded in this expression,—"And about which, where it may with convenience be, the communicants are orderly placed about it:" and so we adjourned.

Friday, June 21.]—Our first business this day was, that Mr. *Ley* reported, that some one was come from beyond the seas, which tells, that the churches of Bremen have not any of our letters come to them, which they take not very well. Whereupon it was ordered, that a letter should be addressed to them: and so also did Mr. *De la March* move for an answer to the Switzerland churches, for which there was also some order taken.

Mr. *Marshal* also moved for a committee to be appointed for the distribution of six hundred pounds, which is come in for the members of the Assembly; which was done accordingly.

And then fell we upon the work of the day, forwarding the Directory, viz. these passages: "The other officers attending." But before we fell upon it, there was some debate again about the sitting about the table; and Mr. *Rutherford* urged mightily for it, and complained, that the clause, "Where with conveniency it may be," will give offence to the church of Scotland. This cost a large and serious agitation again; but, in conclusion, it was concluded, that a hint should be given in the preface, that we desire that churches might be fashioned in regard of the pews, that all might sit about the table. Yet when this was drawn up, we could not conclude upon it, but still it held discourse; at last, it was ordered to be referred again to the committee.

Here Dr. *Burgess* interposed a report concerning the result of the committee of Parliament for the releasing of the taxes, &c. of us of the Assembly, to this purpose:—

"That the names of all the members of the Assembly, that want present maintenance, should be sent in to that committee."

This cost some debate, whether it were honourable and

fit for the Assembly so to do: at last it was resolved, to deal with the committee about this privately.

Then fell we upon our work again; this clause—"The other officers attending that service, the minister is to begin the action with sanctification of the elements of bread," &c. Here the phrase, "attending that service," was thought too ambiguous; and a main scruple was moved, whether the ruling elders might administer the sacrament; and it was thought no; but they are to place the people, to see to their orderliness, and to bring up the elements from the lower end of the table to the higher, where the minister is, when one company hath received; and so it was concluded in this term, "attending the present service."

Then came this to hand—"The bread and wine being set before him in platters," &c.

This word "platters" was thought too improper, and therefore it was expressed thus, "The bread in comely and convenient vessels," which I liked not, but opposed.

Then was the word "sanctification" excepted at, as something uncouth; and so did I scruple at it, saying it was a Hebraism—and "consecrating," which was tendered by some, a Romanism; therefore, I should think "setting apart" to be a medium, which received some debate: the determination was, after a very long time, in a vote, that it should be thus expressed, "He shall begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements."

"The bread in comely and convenient vessels, so prepared, that it may be broken and distributed." Here fell in the debate, "Whether the communicants might distribute the bread one to another."

Mr. *Rutherford* pleaded for it, from the phrase, Luke xxii. διαμερίζετε, and he would prove, that there are not two cups meant there by Luke, but that it is an hysterosis, and that there is no mention of a cup in the institution of the Passover, and that there is no news of that but in the rabbins. I answered, that in all the evangelists there is hardly an hysterosis in one evangelist in so small a compass, and that it is hard to find any hysterosis in Luke at all, unless it be in one place: or, 2. secondly, that it is true that wine was not mentioned in the institution of the Passover, for Israel was not in the land of wine; but when they came

into the land of wine, why might they not take wine to the Passover, as well as lay down some things that are circumstantial in the institution? And that there are divers things in the New Testament which we must be beholden to the rabbins for the understanding of, or else we know not what to make of them.

But the distributing of the bread and cup from party to party, was granted easily; but the question was, "Whether every communicant might break the bread for himself after the minister had broke the loaf?"

Now, breaking the loaf by the minister was understood generally, not only breaking with the hand, but cutting it in pieces; and it was also held, that the loaf must not be cut before it come to the table, unless pared or chipped, but there cut by the minister.

But this was the great query, "Whether, if one communicant take up one piece of bread, and break off a piece for himself, whether he must lay the rest in the dish again, or give it to his next fellow?" but this we had not time to conclude at the present, but referred it to the committee again.

Monday, Thursday, Friday, June 24, 27, 28.]—This week I was at Munden, because of the fast. The work of the Assembly was perplexed about the communicants' sitting down at the table, which cost not only some time, but also some heat, especially betwixt the Scots' commissioners and Independents.

Then was also a debate again about a double consecration; but when all was done, both the businesses were again recommitted.

Monday, July 1.]—This day the business about the sitting of the communicants about or at the table, came to hand again, and held all the morning; and, at last, was again recommitted.

Tuesday, July 2.]—This morning I was again in the Assembly. The first thing done was, that Mr. *Marshal* reported from the committee for the Directory thus:—

"As the communicants are to exercise their faith, &c. so is the pastor, by some short sentences, by intervals, to stir up their affections thereunto, &c. After all have received the cup, they rise, and new ones come in their place;

and, in the time of their removal, some psalm to be sung, as Psal. xxii. ciii. &c."

Which when he had done, he spake something upon these things, to shew the mind of the committee in them.

So we fell upon the discourse, whether, in the interim of receiving, the minister should use any speeches or sentences for the stirring up of their affections.

Mr. *Herle* opposed it, for that the whole work of the day is to work up their affections to the thing in hand; and now, in the act of receiving, their souls be in "influxu," and therefore not fit to divert or stop them with interposition of any new thing.

Mr. *Nye* also doubted, whither unwarrantable helping forward devotion might tend.

The Scots' commissioners strongly argued against them, especially Mr. *Rutherford*, who, out of Mark xiv. 23, proved that Christ spake to them as they were drinking of the cup; and that in the Passover there were some such things as speeches to put them in mind of the business in hand.

So the business fell into this difference, that some held the thing unlawful utterly, others not so, but lawful and convenient; and these two were canvassed 'pro et contra.'

Which while we were about, there came in letters to us from some commanders in my Lord General's army, dated from Chard, in Somersetshire, June 28, to desire ministers for those parts, and chiefly for the army; subscribed by Lord *Roberts*, Sir *John Merricke*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Balfour*, &c.; for which purpose, we chose a committee of the western divines to consider of this business; and the bringer of the letter was called in, and our answer given him.

After which we fell into consultation about the forwarding of ordination; and whereas there was a committee chosen last week to join with the committee of the House of Commons for ordination, Mr. *Marshal* related what course they were about in it.

We also chose a committee to consider some way to be tendered to the Houses for the settlement of the chaplains' pay in the army.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, and waved the business, about the ministers' speaking "some speeches or

short sentences at the time of the people's receiving:" and the sense of the Assembly was, that every one should do in this business, as he thought best, either to do it or refuse it, according to his judgment.

Then fell we upon the next direction: "That as one table full had received, another is to come, and a psalm to be sung in the time of their removal:" but this was recommitted, because of the controversy about sitting at the table.

Then fell we upon a farther matter in the Directory, viz. "The minister, after sacrament, shall go into the pulpit, and give an admonition:" which shifting of places was much spoken against.

There was also some speech about the presence of non-communicants at the time of the sacrament; and Mr. *Henderson* urged against the exclusion of those that desired conscientiously to behold the thing. These things held us all day, and yet we concluded nothing upon them.

Wednesday, July 3.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Mr. *Palmer* reported, from the committee for the Directory, concerning receiving at the table, in these words: "It is likewise desired, or recommended, that the communicants receive at the table."

Dr. *Gouge* spake against many removals; and therefore desired, that only some, but not all, should come to the table; and therefore tendered that it might be expressed "*at* or *about* the table."

Mr. *Rutherford* first replied upon him, That the Scots' church indeed holds it a thing most necessary, that all the communicants should come and sit at table; yet, for peace and conformity's sake, they desired that it might be recommended only.

Mr. *Herle:* To recommend it makes it not *jure divino:* and we recommend a practice contrary to the churches of France, &c. There is also an impossibility of coming up to this in our land. And in these particulars he largely spake against the thing in hand.

Mr. *Palmer:* In these matters of practice, we need not to hold out the thing in its utmost rigour, so that we may obtain the end: and that the churches of France come to the table, but they sit not.

Here began a large, long, and serious debate about the thing itself; and, at last, it turned into this debate, "Whe-

ther coming to the table should be recommended:" which was canvassed ripe to a question, but when it came to it, Mr. *Nye* and Mr. *Herle* mightily opposed it, and for a long time stopped the questioning it; at last, it was put to the question, "Whether coming to the table should be recommended?" and it was voted accordingly.

Then fell we upon the question of companies' coming to the table by vicissitudes, or companies after companies.

Dr. *Gouge* and Mr. *Seaman* moved, That this clause should be waved; and some others followed them in the motion, others opposed it; at last, it was put to the question, "Whether this recommendation shall be propounded simply, without limitation?" and it was voted negatively; but here I suspended my vote.

Then fell we upon words for the limitation, and, among other things, Mr. *Palmer* moved, that it might be referred till the next General Assembly. Dr. *Burgess:* "This is coming nearest to the example of Christ." Others offered other forms; which held a very long time canvassing and examining: and when all was done, we rose, and the matter as yet not resolved, but referred to debate to-morrow.

Thursday, July 4.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Mr. *Painter* reported from the committee of the western men, about ministers for the service and for Somersetshire, and named some divines for the purpose. Whereupon it was ordered, that the same committee should draw up a letter to the commanders that sent to us. Whereupon, Dr. *Burgess* also moved, that some other letters that lie in hand may be answered, particularly of my Lord of *Manchester,* which it seems cannot be answered, because he, in one of them, desires to be resolved, whether Mr. *Vines* will accept of the mastership of Pembroke Hall; which is yet undetermined by him, and by the Assembly in his behalf. This cost some expense of time.

Then fell we to the work of the day, about sitting at the table by companies, which had kept us so many days together. The Scots demanded it to be done as necessary; some again, as Mr. *Nye,* Mr. *Herle,* held it not lawful; and all the business was to find a modification; which when we could not do, we fell to canvass the lawfulness of the matter, "Whether the communicants may come to the table successively;" for those that held it fit that all the communi-

cants should receive at the table, if they could do it at once, yet that the congregation, when it is too big so to sit at once, should be broken into several table-fulls, they held it unlawful utterly; and Mr. *Nye* gave this the main reason to prove it, because it crosseth a general rule, "Let all things be done in order," though it do not in institution.

A great time was spent before we could resolve to debate the lawfulness of successive coming to the table: at last, it was directly fallen upon, by the urgent motion of Mr. *Palmer*, that we might first determine that. Hereupon, Mr. *Gillespie* spake largely to it, in answer to Mr. *Nye's* arguments; and Mr. *Nye* replied at large upon him: and divers others spake to it: yet, in conclusion, we referred this for a solemn debate to-morrow.

Friday, July 5.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Dr. *Gouge* gave in Mr. *Vines's* answer concerning his going to Cambridge, and accepting his mastership: which yet was referred to the committee again.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, concerning the lawfulness of all the communicants coming successively to the table. Mr. *Herle* first spake to it thus: That way that is not orderly, nor to edification, is not lawful: but, *ergo;* this breaks into several congregations; for it breaks it into several companies. Mr. *Seaman* denied this consequence: For (said he), there are several companies in their pews as they sit in the church:—but withal, there grew some heat betwixt them; which being hushed, Mr. *Rutherford* answered, This makes no more difference of congregations, than when one single one after another.

Mr. *Calamy:* The unity of consecration makes the unity of the congregation.

Mr. *Herle:* Where there are several members distinctly congregated, there are distinct congregations.

This I denied, for that the Jews were distinguished into several courts, and yet one congregation.

This subject held us all morning: at last, it came to the question, and was voted affirmatively,—"That it is lawful that the congregation come in several companies to the table:" but I was absent when the vote was given.

Monday, July 8.]—The greatest part of this day was taken up about Mr. *Vines*, in debating whether it were fit for him to take the mastership allotted to him in Cambridge

by the Earl of *Manchester:* which, when it was over, there was some time spent in the business of the Directory, but nothing concluded.

Tuesday, July 9.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Mr. *Newcomen* read a letter, drawn up by a committee, to be returned to my Lord of *Manchester,* in answer to some of his. Which held us some debate upon some expressions in it, which were excepted at by Mr. *Wilson.*

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was to debate this proposition :—"The bread is to be given to all the communicants before the cup to any."

This had been in debate yesterday, and Christ's example urged; to which Mr. *Gillespie* now answered, That it doth not cogently appear, that it was so in his example; and if it should be made to appear, yet was this circumstance merely occasional.

Mr. *Rutherford:* If the example of Christ be thus insisted upon, it will make it an institution: for if the first communicants, as communicants, did receive the bread all before the wine, then is it, in a manner, an institution: but if they received it as being only twelve, then was it occasional.

Mr. *Herle:* "After supper he took the cup;" Matt. xxvi. 26: the bread he took when he was eating, and the cup after supper: and he saw nothing but that they might eat on after they had received the bread.

Mr. *Marshal* moved, That our debating might be turned into accommodating: whereupon, the debate turned upon this subject, concerning accommodation. The conclusion of all which was, that the whole business was recommitted: but a huge business there was upon it before we could conclude upon terms of recommitment: but, at last, the matter was put to the question, and voted to be recommitted, even the whole business about coming up to the table.

Then fell we upon this query,—"Whether, after the sacrament, the minister shall go into the pulpit to give a word of exhortation; and whether a psalm may be sung at the time of communicating?"

The former of these was thought fittest to be let pass in silence; and not to mention going into pulpit: and as for exhortation, it was left indifferent in these expressions,—"The minister may, in few words, put them in mind of the

grace of God in Jesus Christ, held forth in this sacrament, and exhort them to walk worthy of it."

Then had we a debate about a prayer after this exhortation.

After which there was a clause concerning not having a sacrament on a solemn fast-day; which was ordered: but I spake something of the unproperness of the business, and so it was revoked.

Wednesday, July 10.]—The first thing done was, that Mr. *Ley* reported concerning some ministers that he had examined.

The next was about the Assembly's pay; and Mr. *Palmer,* from the committee of parliament, desired that the names of those, that ordinarily attend here, might be given in; which was ordered accordingly. But Dr. *Burgess* moved, That those that are absent a week together, might be accounted as non-attendants: which I excepted against, because of my absence in the fast-week, which I must be inevitably. Whereupon, the whole list of names was read over, and who were constant taken notice of. And this cost us some long time,—yea, even all the morning: the conclusion was, a vote that all the names of our members that have taken the covenant, shall be returned; and withal, that an expression be added, that some of these do very much neglect their attendance.

Then, for amending of neglect for the time to come, it was desired the scribes should observe the absent. And, for preventing going away before our rising, it was moved to be ordered, that whosoever should go out before we rise, should solemnly make his obeisance: which was ready to be done,—when I desired, that we might not leave it upon our records to posterity, that this Assembly had need to make order for common reverence and civility: whereupon, it was laid by, and the order reversed.

Then was a motion about forfeiture of six or twelve-pence, or the whole day's pay, for absence. This I spake against, in regard of my constant necessity of absence every Monday: but this I condescended to, that at the payment of our wages, the whole should be subducted, so that the like course may be taken in return of those that have been absent hitherto. At last, it was ordered, that the absent should have twelve-pence subducted at the payment of our

monies, and the late comer, and the goer before we rise, should lose also six-pence.

And then we had a great deal of time in debating what time to meet and rise. When this was done, Mr. *Palmer* reported from the committee for accommodation, concerning the communicants' coming to the table: which was to this purpose,—that all the business about coming in companies to the table was left out, and the passage was only this,—"the communicants orderly sitting about the table," &c. and no more mention of any posture: which the commissioners of Scotland consented to, only desired, that they might impart so much to their General Assembly: and promised to do it with all reverence and respect to this Assembly. This thing took well for the general, only Mr. *Ley* spake something against it, as tying too strictly to sitting. Dr. *Gouge* moved to know, whether we should sit at the time of prayer and thanksgiving. Mr. *Calamy* answered, that the minister is left at indifferency. Mr. *Henderson* told their practice. The table is full, the minister comes, reads the words of institution, and prays standing: and the people either sit or kneel at prayer-time indifferently, but are sure to sit in the act of receiving. At last, the thing was put to the question, and voted to pass: only Mr. *Ley* gave his negative.

Here we were ready to rise, and were consulting what to fall next upon. I moved urgently, that we might fall upon baptism, for the clearing of ourselves of Anabaptism, which so much increaseth: which was accordingly concluded to be done.

Thursday, July 11.]—Our work this morning was, first, Mr. *Ley* published a testimonial for a minister which was not very well liked of; and so it cost a little time, and yet more than was fitting in our great employments: and it could not be concluded upon but by a vote, that this man should be examined.

Then began we the work of the day, about the Directory for baptism, in these particulars:—

"Baptism is not to be administered, in any case, by private persons, but by a minister." This was ordered without gainsaying; only there was discourse about the wording of it. Among others, Mr. *Seaman* excepted at the phrase "in any case;" because, in times of persecution, ministers

may be utterly all gone. But this was not approved of to take it out.

Mr. *Henderson* moved, That instead of "a minister" of Jesus Christ, it might be expressed by "the minister:" but that was not liked, as tying it too strictly to the minister of the congregation where the child is born.

2. "Nor is it to be administered in private places or privately," &c.

This was spoken against as too restrictive; for that the child may be in danger to die before he comes to the congregation: 2. For that some children may be born at too great a distance from the church. 3. Baptism admits into the church; *ergo*, not to be tied so strictly to the church; and, 2. They were baptized, and then added to the church. This was Mr. *Calamy's* argument: which Mr. *Rutherford* retorted thus: It is admission to the church; *ergo*, it must be in the face of the church.

Mr. *Wilson:* To propound the case of sickness, is to go too near the tenet of the absolute necessity.

Mr. *Seaman:* If the church go to the child, when the child cannot go to the church, this is not to be thought private baptism.

Mr. *Gillespie* pleaded against private baptism:—1. Philip's baptism of the eunuch, and others in the New Testament, were extraordinary. 2. Circumcision in private houses, is hard to prove: for however John Baptist's mother gave the name of the child, and she could not be in the synagogue, yet the dispute about the name of the child might be before they went to the synagogue: and, again, circumcision and baptism differ, because of the wound and plastering it.

Here began we to enter into the ocean of many vast disputes, which was desired by some to have been stopped, for the husbanding of time: but it was thought fit, by others, to debate the business of the proposition before us.

Mr. *Palmer:* Among all the examples we find no such baptisms as import baptizing in a congregation, except Acts ii.; for Acts xvi. 14, 15, 33, and Acts ix. is baptism in private houses; and Acts ix. "what doth hinder me to be baptized," &c. not want of a congregation, but "if thou believest," Acts x.

2. Circumcision, in Luke vii. 59, could not be in the sy-

nagogue: for they came to circumcise, and his mother answered.

3. God commands to baptize a man that believes; now when? when it may be done; with limitation to number of persons present, and places.

I also answered Mr. *Gillespie:* 1. That 1 Cor. i, ἐβάπτισα τὸν Στεφανᾶ οἶκον was in "ecclesia constituta," and the phrase importeth, that it was not in synagogue.

2. For circumcision, that it was generally private: 1. Otherwise, in great towns, every day sometimes would have been as a sabbath; for every day would some child come to be eight days' old. 2. Moses's wife; 3. Judah at Chezib, circumcised children distant from any congregation. 4. All the nation was baptized, when they were to come out of Egypt; but this could not be done in the congregation. 5. The Jews' pandect tells us, that a proselyte was to be circumcised at home, as a servant by his master; but if either servant or master refuse, then should he be brought before the congregation.

Mr. *Rutherford* hereupon inferred, that all our arguments tend to this,—to shew private baptism to be chiefly lawful, and public to be but occasional, or less convenient. This was answered to him to the full.

Then were other arguments used against any private baptism at all: but I was called out to speak without, and lost the discourse for the present.

When I was in again, Mr. *Whittacre* tendered this qualification,—"And it is to be administered in the place of public worship:" but it was not liked on.

Mr. *Palmer:* That which Christ hath commanded, must be done, unless he hath somewhere forbidden: but Christ hath nowhere forbidden private baptizing, yet he hath commanded to baptize: *ergo.* This Mr. *Seaman* went about to answer; when Mr. *Marshal,* desiring to cut off long debates, offered another modification, by inverting the order of the two propositions thus,—"Baptism is to be administered in the public, &c. and in no wise by a private person:" which was liked by the most: but Mr. *Palmer* spoke against it; and so did I, as redounding to the very sense of that which we had refused. Howsoever, it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively; but I gave my negative.

Friday, July 12.]—The first business to-day was, about

a testimonial for a minister; which some desired to stop. This took up no small time.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, forward upon the Directory for baptism. And the first thing done was, that some reasons why baptism should be administered in public, were, upon vote, waved in this place.

Mr. *Calamy* moved, That we should express something that baptism should be as near as possible on the sabbath or lecture-days. This was well liked of, and cost a large debate for the framing of it up: and here I went out of the Assembly to go to Munden.

Monday, July 15.]—This day and this week I was absent from the Assembly; because that Thursday was the day of thanksgiving for the routing of Prince *Rupert* at York. The work of the Assembly was, that they went on in the Directory for baptism.

Monday, July 22.]—This day I was come to town again; and when I came, I found that the Assembly had met this morning, and adjourned themselves till Wednesday fortnight; having now sitten a twelvemonth, and never adjourned of all the time.

Wednesday, Aug. 7.]—This morning we met again; and the first thing done was, a debate about some ministers to be examined, and about some that, having passed the Assembly, prove Anabaptists, and Antinomians; and divers stories were told about the behaviour of some Antinomian preachers: whereupon a committee was chosen to draw up a petition to represent this to the Houses.

Then fell we upon the work of the day; which was, about baptizing "of the child, whether to dip him or sprinkle." And this proposition, "It is lawful and sufficient to besprinkle the child," had been canvassed before our adjourning, and was ready now to vote: but I spake against it, as being very unfit to vote, that it is lawful to sprinkle, when every one grants it. Whereupon, it was fallen upon, sprinkling being granted, whether dipping should be tolerated with it. And here fell we upon a large and long discourse, whether dipping were essential or used in the first institution, or in the Jews' custom. Mr. *Coleman* went about, in a large discourse, to prove טבילה to be dipping over-head. Which I answered at large:—as, 1. Aben Ezra, on Gen. xxxv. says, the Sichemites were admitted to Jacob's house by טבילה:

and yet there was no water there, but only Jacob's well: 2. R. Sol. on Exod. xxiv. saith that Israel was entered into covenant with sprinkling of blood and טבילה: which Paul, Heb. ix. expounds of sprinkling of water. 3. That John the Baptist sometimes preached and baptized in places, where he could not possibly dip the parties baptized. This was backed by divers; and it cost a long discourse to prove it: and, in conclusion, I proposed this to the Assembly,—to find in all the Old Testament where "baptizare," when it is used "de sacris," and in "actu transeunte," is not used of sprinkling. It is said, indeed, that the priests washed their bodies, and the unclean washed himself in water, but this was not "actio transiens."

After a long dispute, it was at last put to the question, whether the Directory should run thus,—"The minister shall take water, and sprinkle or pour it with his hand upon the face or forehead of the child:" and it was voted so indifferently, that we were glad to count names twice: for so many were unwilling to have dipping excluded, that the votes came to an equality within one; for the one side was twenty-four,—the other, twenty-five: the twenty-four for the reserving of dipping, and the twenty-five against it: and there grew a great heat upon it: and when we had done all, we concluded upon nothing in it; but the business was recommitted.

Then were produced some letters, sent us out of Holland; first, from Mr. *Strickland*, and then from a synod at Hague: these being read, we adjourned.

Thursday, Aug. 8.]—Our first work to-day was, that Dr. *Hoyle* reported the names of three that had been examined for fellowship in Cambridge.

Then fell we upon our work about dipping in baptism: and first it was proposed by Dr. *Burgess*, that our question proposed yesterday might be proposed again. And this cost some time before we could get off this business: at last it was put to the question, Whether the question put yesterday should be more debated before determined; and it was voted affirmatively.

And so we fell upon the business: and I first proposed, that those that stand for dipping, should shew some probable reason, why they hold it. Dr. *Temple* backed me in the thing: and Mr. *Marshal* began; and he said, that he doubted

not that all the Assembly concluded that dipping was lawful. I flatly answered, that I hold it unlawful, but an ἐθελοθρησκεία; and therefore desired, that it might be proved. But it was first thought fit to go to the business by degrees; and so it was first put to the vote, and voted thus affirmatively,—"that pouring on of water, or sprinkling of it in the administration of baptism, is lawful and sufficient." But I excepted at the word "lawful" as too poor, for that it was as if we should put this query,—Whether it be lawful to administer the Lord's supper in bread and wine? and I moved, that it might be expressed thus,—"It is not only lawful, but also sufficient;" and it was done so accordingly. But as for the dispute itself about dipping, it was thought fit and most safe to let it alone, and to express it thus in our Directory,—"He is to baptize the child with water, which for the manner of doing is not only lawful, but also sufficient, and most expedient to be by pouring or sprinkling water on the face of the child, without any other ceremony." But this cost a great deal of time about the wording it.

When we had done this, Mr. *Palmer* reported upon a business recommended to a committee to consider of, sent to us by my Lord Admiral, concerning a preacher in the Isle of Guernsey, against which there were articles exhibited:—

1. That he did abjure the church discipline there established.

2. Saying it was worse than sodomy.

3. He refuseth to administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and baptism, &c.

4. That in 1655 there shall be a perfect reformation, and men shall do miracles: and that we shall live hereafter in communion of good: and that they that believed not this, were cursed, &c.

Whereupon it was ordered, that this should be presently recommended to the Houses. The preacher himself, one Mr. *Thomas Picot*, is sent hither prisoner by my Lord Admiral.

After this we went on in the Directory, which was a prayer after the baptizing of the child.

Mr. *Coleman* moved, That the number of the sprinklings might be fixed; but that was not hearkened to.

The prayer or thanksgiving after baptism cost some debate; but, at last, was passed.

Friday, Aug. 9.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Mr. *Ley* reported concerning *Picot,* mentioned yesterday, how the committee, chosen for that purpose, had been with the committee of plundered ministers, and desired that he should not be dismissed: which was granted accordingly.

Dr. *Burgess* moved, That we might move to the Houses for one fasting-day, in behalf of my Lord General and the west.

Whereupon Mr. *Caryll* read a letter, sent him out of the west, concerning the state of the army there.

Then was the motion for the fast carried on with the more importunity: and so was there a committee chosen and sent to the Houses.

Then did Mr. *Marshal* report from the committee chosen to study a remedy against Anabaptists, Brownists, &c. particularly he mentioned one *Knowle,* an Anabaptist, and *Penrose, Randall, Simson, Tandey, Cornhill, Blackwood, Cursor,* &c. This business was also ordered to be sent to the Houses.

Then did Mr. *Marshal* report a Directory for thanksgiving-days; which being read, it was begun to be debated.

The title was this, and thus passed,—"For days of public thanksgiving: convenient warning is to be given of the day to be set apart." This expression I excepted against, "to be set apart;" as if the setting it apart belonged to the congregation: whereupon it was changed.

Mr. *Seaman* urged against the voting any thing to-day, because newly brought in. However, it was proceeded into debate: and we fell upon this point, by the interposing of Mr. *Rutherford,*—Whether public thanks should last a whole day:—but it was not concluded upon; but the time called for adjourning, and so we laid it by till the next session.

Before we adjourned, those that had gone to the Houses about a fast, &c. returned with relation of their condescension to it: and thereupon we adjourned till Wednesday, because the fast was to be on Tuesday.

Wednesday, Aug. 14.]—The first thing done was, that Mr. *Ley* reported concerning one *Humphries,* that came to be examined for admission to a sequestration, who is accused to be a swearer, and to have run away with a man's wife: and of another, who is also to be examined, who is an An-

tinomian. He desired the Assembly's advice which to answer: which done, Mr. *Ash* delivered a letter to the Assembly, from my Lord of *Manchester*, wherein he desired earnestly that ordination may be hastened, and Mr. *Vines'* coming to Cambridge. There was also an order of the House of Commons read for the quelling of Antinomians and Anabaptists; and accordingly there was much discourse about evidence to be got against some of their preachers; which took up a long time. Then was there some debate concerning answering my Lord of *Manchester's* letter. Mr. *Vines* shewed still his great reluctancy against taking his mastership in Cambridge; which cost some debate, and that very large. In the interim of which debate my Lord *Maitland* and my Lord *Warriston* came in, and brought letters from the General Assembly of Scotland: which being read, my Lord *Warriston* spake; and among other things the relation of *Antrim's* invasion of Scotland; and the king's commission for it: and of the general desire of all the nation of Scotland for the hastening of the work in hand.

Dr. *Burgess*, after he had done, made an answer of gratulation, and urged the hastening of our work.

Mr. *Henderson* also spake to the same purpose, of forwarding and hastening our work. Whereupon it was ordered, that the grand committee should meet to-morrow.

It was also ordered, that both the letter from my Lord of *Manchester* and from the General Assembly, should be sent to the Houses, to shew to them how we are called upon.

Then was also some debate about sitting in the afternoons,—but nothing determined.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was, about the Directory for the days of public thanksgiving. But at the very first entry, Mr. *Seaman* moved, that the ordinary things in the Directory,—as marriage and burial, be considered,—and let the extraordinary things alone. And so our debate fell upon this; and it grew to a very serious agitation: at last it was determined by a vote, that we should lay aside the Directory for thanksgiving for the present.

Then was there a motion about 'supervising that of the Directory that is finished, and that it might be referred to the three committees, to review and consider of it:' and this cost a large debate: at last, it was put to the question, 'Whe-

ther the Directory for reading, preaching, and prayer, shall be referred to the three committees to consider of it, both for matter and words;'—and it was voted negatively.

Thursday, Aug. 15.]—The first thing done to-day was, about the two that came to be examined; one *Humphries*, who was accused for a swearer, and to have run away with another man's wife: he had been in high commission for it, and produced his discharge from thence: so we concluded to have nothing to do with him.

The other was one *Emerson*, a suspected Antinomian: it was resolved that he should preach against Antinomianism, and give us his sermon in writing.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was, the Directory for public thanksgiving; for it was resolved, before we parted yesterday, to resume that, though we had voted to lay it by.

The subjects we treated and debated were,—

1. To lay by a piece of it; which was controvertible, viz. that the day be kept wholly from manual labour. This had cost a great deal of debate, and was like to do, and so we laid it by.

2. After family preparation, they are to address themselves to the church: some excepted at this, because it was not to our work to speak of private worship; but it was put to the question, and voted to pass.

3. The minister, after a word of exhortation, &c. prayer, &c. is to, &c.

Here it was excepted at these circumstantial points of order, &c. which cost some long debate. I propounded, that it might be expressed "the minister may," instead of "is to," &c. but before any thing was resolved upon this, there was a debate about expressing the care the magistrate ought to have about divulging intelligence of the occasion: but this at last was waved.

Mr. *Rows*, of the House of Commons, was now come in, and brought in the business of the ordination, resolved upon by the House. Which being read, Mr. *Vines* desired to know, whether this form be only for London, or for the whole power of the parliament. Mr. *Rows* answered: 'It is only for London for the present, but in time will be thought a pattern for the rest of the kingdom.' The parliament would have twenty-three ministers named by us, who should be the

ordainers: this we referred to fall upon to-morrow: and it was read over again, that we might have it fresh in thought against to-morrow.

Dr. *Burgess* then reported, how the Houses took the two letters we sent up to them yesterday, viz. from the general Assembly in Scotland, and my Lord of *Manchester;* viz. that the House will consider concerning them on Friday morning. And withal he mentioned something in agitation in the House concerning Mr. *Vines:* which took up a great deal of time in discoursing of, even our whole time this day.

Friday, Aug. 16.]—This morning there was some beginning upon the business of ordination; but upon consideration, it was laid by till the next week, and the Directory of thanksgiving was fallen upon, and gone through, and passed.

Monday, Aug. 19.]—This day I was at Munden. The work of the day was upon ordination, and something of it finished and passed.

Tuesday, Aug. 20.]—This morning there was a business again about Mr. *Humphries,* whose case was before us before: he now brought us another certificate and testimonial, which cost some debate. The conclusion was, to have nothing to do with him.

"Then fell we upon the work before us. And, first, Mr. *Palmer* reported from the grand committee, desiring this:—

1. "That the Assembly appoint a committee to draw up the Directory;" which is already done.

2. "A committee to join with the commissioners of Scotland, to draw up a confession of faith.

3. "The committee for the summary hasten their report about church-government.

4. "The Assembly to return to the government.

5. "Then to handle excommunication."

Hereupon we fell to choose a committee for the first, and three were chosen for that purpose. For the second, there was some debate about the matter, because we have no order yet to enable us to such a thing: and, at last, when it was resolved, there was some debate about the number: and, at last, nine were fixed by vote.

Then did we return to our work about ordination. And, first, the preface, which was this,—"Presbyter and episcopus, in Scripture, are one and the same," &c.

This Mr. *Henderson* excepted against, as giving too much to episcopacy; for that it follows, that "the bishop took more upon him than was fit." He also questioned whether the Assembly should own this preface, seeing it is not ours, but the House of Commons' work. And this last business held a long debate. I mightily opposed it, and queried, how, since the Houses owned us in the ordinance that convened us, that they called us for our advice, can we doubt that they will own us in the work? But it was mightily urged, that such a request should be sent up to the Houses: and at last it was called, that such a thing should be ordered; which I challenged should not be, but put to the vote, that I might give my negative: which was done accordingly, and no negative given but one or two more.

Then fell we upon the bishop's appropriating to himself "more than meet," which was in the preface: which the Scotch commissioners did "conceive to include that something was meet for him:" which held a very long debate: at last it concluded in this, that it should be humbly desired of the Houses that it might be expressed, "and that ascribed to him and assumed to him which was not meet." Then Mr. *Henderson* desired that some humble motion should be made, that some other preamble might be made than this: but this was not very well consented to. Howbeit, it cost a large discussion: but left as it is: and so the whole preface humbly consented unto. And so we went on upon the Directory itself; which was that that we had sent in; and this went down with us, though the House of Commons had made some alteration,—till we came to this clause in the second article,—"If he shall be designed to a particular place:" and this bred a debate very large, for that the Assembly had sent in "that every one ordained should be designed to a particular place:" and it was moved, that that supposal or condition in the draught of the House of Commons should be left out, "If he be designed," &c.; and so it was ordered, humbly to present so much to the Houses.

Then went we on in divers articles of the Directory without stop: at last, coming to a stop, or to a clause controvertible, we adjourned, and referred it till the next day.

Wednesday, Aug. 21.]—The first thing done to-day, was an occasion being offered to mention the Antinomians. It was

concluded, a committee to consider of a way for their suppression should meet this afternoon.

Then fell we upon our work, on the Directory for ordination.

And the first business was, about our rule, which we had sent in, and the House of Commons had left out: and this cost some debate, whether we should tender it again to be put in. It was about some special notice and strict eye to be had upon those ministers that remove from place to place, because of danger in that: for Dr. *Stanton* reported, that a county committee had put a physician and a fell-monger to two livings sequestered: whereupon it was ordered, that this should be considered of in the conclusion.

Then came we to the point of Ordinary to a particular congregation: which cost a great deal of debate. At last it was resolved to desire that this clause, "If he be designed to a particular church," should be left out, as seeming to countenance a 'vagum ministerium.'

Then followed a clause about his trial of his gifts in the place where he is to be ordained, or to which he is to be appointed, for three days: which I questioned, Whether is meant three sabbaths or no;—and it was the intent of the Assembly, that a public fast-day, or thanksgiving-day might be one.

Then was there a question, whether any but the congregation, where the party is to serve, may make exceptions against him: and about the party's submitting to the admonition of his brethren: which being put to the vote, was voted to be omitted.

Thursday, Aug. 22.]—We fell again upon the Directory for ordination: and the clause that first came to hand was, "Then shall he ask the people, whether they will accept, honour, maintain him," &c. which cost a large debate, whether it should be put in or no, for the House of Commons had left it out. At last, it was resolved by vote, that instead of the people's stipulation, it should be turned into a charge laid upon the people.

Then Mr. *Palmer* reported from the committee which was to consider of a way to suppress Antinomians and Anabaptists: which being read, we fell upon ordination again.

Friday, Aug. 23.]—This day, I was not in the Assembly, for that Captain *Young* had desired me to marry him, which

called me away: which after I had done, I went to Munden; and there I was all the next week, because of the fast.

Sep. 2.]—This day I came to town.

Sep. 3.]—This day I was not in the Assembly; for I went with Mrs. *Ellenor Manwaring* to Charleton, and to Eltham to marry her.

Wednesday, Sep. 4.]—This day I was in the Assembly. The first thing done was, that Dr. *Temple,* chairman of the committee for the drawing up of a confession of faith, desired, that that committee might be augmented: which was done accordingly.

Then Dr. *Burgess* read the return which the committee have drawn up to send in to the parliament, for satisfaction of their scruple which they stick at; viz. 1. Why we call ordination the ordinance of Christ: 2. Why we speak of the ministers ruling. To which they have drawn up reasons to satisfy: which being read and debated, they were sent up into the House of Commons.

Then fell we upon the business of the day, which was about the government, ordination being now finished: and it cost some debate what to fall upon,—whether upon excommunication, or upon the government; which cost a long debate, even all the forenoon. It was concluded in this order, —that we should first fall on government, and then in this vote, that this shall be next debated: "It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the church be governed by several sorts of assemblies;" and so we adjourned.

Thursday, Sep. 5.]—The first thing done this day was, that Mr. *De la March* read a letter, wherein was signified the growth of Anabaptism among some French in Maidstone.

Then were we about to transmit our remedies against Anabaptism and Antinomianism to the Houses, when Mr. *Nye,* in the name of others also, desired to put in his reasons against them: and this cost a large and a hot debate: at last, with much ado, it was put to the question, and voted, that these remedies should be sent in this afternoon.

But here grew a great and long question, about what should be said at the delivery of it; which held us to our rising.

Friday, Sep. 6.]—The first thing done this day, was a

debate about a man that came to be examined for a sequestration; one Mr. *Weale*.

There was also another debate about another man, one Mr. *Grasty*, which cost some time. Another debate likewise about another, that hath a sequestration, and yet desires to be excused from coming up.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, about the government of the church by several sorts of assemblies.

First, There was some debate for the stating of our proposition: the word "church" bred scruple, for that the Independents deny a material church: and this held a very long dispute. At last it was put to the question, and voted, that the proposition must be discussed "in terminis."

And so we fell to again.

Dr. *Gouge* and Mr. *Marshal* offered this argument: "It is agreeable to the word, that the church be governed by parochial, classical, and synodical assemblies: *ergo*.

Mr. *Burroughs:* It is true, these assemblies governed, but not the same church.

This was answered by Mr. *Herle*, that our votes have already cleared this: and so there began some canvass of the sense of our votes: and at last the proposition was put to the question, and voted affirmatively. And thus had we spent our session, and adjourned; having first some debate upon what should be our next debate.

Monday, Sep. 9.]—This day I was at Munden. The work of the day was, that upon the sad tidings of my Lord General's defeat in the west. The Assembly took into consideration what might be the cause that God is so provoked; and this having held debate all day, in conclusion it was referred to a committee to draw up something to that purpose.

Tuesday, Sep. 10.]—The first work this day was, the committee appointed yesterday brought in what they conceived the causes of our present misery:—as, I. The sins of the Assembly; as, neglect of the service,—as in slackness in coming, and departing at pleasure: 2. By absenting from prayers: 3. Manifesting a neglect in the time of debate, and neglecting committees: 4. Some speaking too much, some too little: 5. By irreverent carriage: 6. By heats in debating: 7. Driving on parties: 8. Not serious examination of ministers.

II. Of the armies:—1. Emulation: 2. Want of ministers:

3. Swearing, gaming, drinking, &c.: 4. Want of discipline in the army.

III. Of parliament:—1. Not tendering the covenant to all in their power: 2. Not active in suppressing Anabaptists and Antinomians: 3. Not seeking religion in the first place: 4. Not suppressing stage-plays, taverns, profaneness, and scoffing of ministers: 5. Not a free publishing of truths, for fear of losing a party: 6. Oppression by committees: 7. Not debts paid: 8. Remissness in punishing delinquents: 9. Private end aimed at: 10. Delays in relieving the army: 11. Church lands not sold for the maintenance of ministers.

When this was read over, we fell upon debate of them: and, first, Mr. *Henderson* moved, that our private failings here might not be published to the world: which was thought most rational by divers; only we sadly convinced ourselves of them here amongst ourselves: and while we were about this, Mr. *Rows* came in, and told us of a clause in a diurnal, which is said there to be a vote of the House of Commons, against imposition of hands: which the House, he said, never made, and desired we would not believe it, till we heard from the House.

Then went we on the sins of the armies; which held us a good while in canvassing: which being finished, the chairman of the committee reported the sins of the people:—1. Profaneness, scorn of God's hand on us: 2. Duties of humiliation disfigurated: 3. Our hearts not humbled upon humiliation: 4. Divisions in opinion and affection among professors: 5. Jealousies and sidings: 6. Unthankfulness for God's mercies: 7. Neglect of personal and family reformation: 8. Carnal confidence and general security.

Then went we on with the sins of the parliament; which, before we had gone through, it was grown late, and so we adjourned till afternoon.

Tuesday Afternoon.]—Being met in the afternoon, we began where we left in the forenoon, and so proceeded all afternoon, but finished not.

Wednesday, Sept. 11.]—We sat not this day, because of the fast to-morrow.

Friday, Sept. 13.]—This day I was not here; I was at Munden.

Monday, Sept. 16.]—This day I was at Munden. The work and business of the Assembly was various.

The Lord *Lowdon* came in, and was entertained by the Prolocutor with a speech.

So also was the Earl of *Manchester*.

The matter of ordination came from the Houses perfected; and nothing wanting but the nomination of twenty-three divines in London, to put it in practice: which was referred to a committee.

There was also some large debate about synods.

There came also an order from the House of Commons, to require the grand committee to consider, how far liberty should be given to tender consciences.

Tuesday, Sept. 17.]—The first thing done to-day was, that the deputy of the colloquy of Guernsey came in, and brought a petition against *Picot*, the Anabaptist preacher, mentioned before: and a committee was appointed to assist the petition to the committee of plundered ministers.

Then Dr. *Hoyle* reported the names of some that had been examined for fellowship in Cambridge.

Next, Mr. *Palmer* reported, and read a letter to my Lord *Fairfax*, to be sent from this Assembly, in answer to a letter that he sent to us. This being read, and a little debated upon, was recommitted.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was this proposition:—

"The Scripture holdeth out another manner of assembly, the congregational or classical, which we call synodical."

Mr. *Seaman* urged, that Acts xv. holdeth out, that many churches joining is a synod: and he produced the Independents' apologetical narration, wherein they confess that in Acts xv. to have been a synod.

Mr. *Goodwin* held the meeting of Jerusalem to have been a reference of their business from Antioch; and that only the apostles and elders of Jerusalem make the decree; and that the churches of Syria coming to Jerusalem was in an elective way.

Mr. *Calamy* argued, that this was no reference; because then it should only have bound those that referred it; but their decrees bound all the Gentiles. Again; Paul and Barnabas debated as well as any other: now, had they put this business to reference, they must not have debated.

This business we debated all the morning almost, and the matter came near the question, when Mr. *Bridges* inter-

posed, and offered to prove, that there were not elders of other churches at Jerusalem: for, 1. They are not named: 2. It is said τινὲς came from Antioch were "ex plebe:" 3. In Acts xvi. there is mention only of the elders of Jerusalem: 4. Those that went from Jerusalem, &c. had no such command; now if there were any elders but of Jerusalem, this could not be said.

And he produced Dr. *Whittacre*, who held this be only "ex iis qui Hierosolymis tantum fuerunt."

Mr. *Gillespie* answered him largely, and so did others.

Then were we coming to the question again, when Mr. *Goodwin* interposed, and desired to give some answer, and held long, and would prove no more elders in the council, but only of Jerusalem.

At last it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, "that Acts xv. doth hold out another sort of assembly for the government of the church, besides classical and congregational, which we call synodical."

Then had we a long debate what should be our work tomorrow: at last it was concluded to debate this,—

"These synodical assemblies were made up of pastors and teachers, and other church-governors."

Wednesday, Sept. 18.]—The first thing done to-day, after Mr. *Ley* had published his orders for ministers, was, that Dr. *Burgess* reported from a committee appointed for that purpose, the names of twenty-three of the London divines for the work of ordination, pro tempore; viz. ten of the Assembly, and thirteen of the city. Which being done and concluded, I moved that our Directory for worship might also now be taken into consideration, and be hastened out, since the Directory of ordination is so ready to see the light. This was wondrous well taken, and much prosecuted, and concluded upon to be hastened.

Then began we upon our work about the members of synods, or those that make them up; and debated long upon it: at last it was concluded in this vote,—"Pastors and teachers, being lawfully called thereunto, are constituent members of those assemblies that we call synodical."

Thursday, Sept. 19.]—The work this day was, that there came in mention of the nakedness of my Lord General's soldiers: whereupon, a messenger was sent by us to the

House of Commons, to desire that the collection the next fast might be disposed that way.

There was also mention of *Picot*, the Anabaptist: and a message was also sent that he might be stopped, and not go for Guernsey, as he was about.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was this proposition,—"Other fitting persons are constituent members of a synod."

This the Scots opposed exceedingly, and so did Mr. *Palmer*, and myself, and Mr. *Seaman*.

But Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Herle*, and the Independents [*]

I gave this construction of those places in Acts xv. Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ὅλη ἐκκλησία. By ἀδελφοὶ is meant the uncircumcised converts, as ver. 1—3. Now it is most like that the uncircumcised churches would send their ministers, and not laymen: and by ἐκκλησία is not meant the church, but that meeting of the council.

Then Mr. *Seaman* took at me, and followed largely.

Mr. *Herle* applauded the interpretation, but refused it, and gave some reason why; viz. because ἐκκλησία, in ver. 4, is taken properly for the church, and the men that brought the letters to the church could not be said to send greeting. To this I answered, 1. That the interpretation of Scripture is from the scope of the place, as in the Hebrew order is apparent: 2. That [*]

Mr. *Vines* denied my interpretation of ἀδελφοὶ, for that James and Peter call all the company Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί. I answered, that is a common Hebraism, as Gen. xiii. אנשים אחים.

This debate held us out our time to-day, and we adjourned.

Friday, Sept. 20.]—This day I went to Munden, and was not in the Assembly: nor of all the next week, being the fast-week: nor on Monday, nor Tuesday, because I brought up my family to London, which detained me from the Assembly.

Wednesday, Oct. 2.]—This morning the Lord Admiral came into the Assembly, and was entertained by Dr. *Burgess*, being now in the chair, with a speech.

Our work to-day was, to debate the subordination of the four sorts of assemblies,—congregational, classical, provin-

cial, and national: which cost us a long and stiff debate, but at last was voted affirmatively.

Thursday, Oct. 3.]—This day was wholly spent upon debate about ordination, which was now finished, and sent to us to be printed. One clause was left out by the Lords; viz. "To rule over them in the Lord." This cost us all the day in debating, whether we should return our request to them again, for the restoring of this clause: but at last it was concluded, that Mr. *Byfield* should bring it to the press.

Friday, Oct. 4.]—The first thing done to-day was, a petition was brought in from Dorchester, to desire that Mr. *Benne*, whom the Assembly hath voted to go for York, should be spared to come to his old charge at Dorchester again."

Then Dr. [*] reported, from the first committee thus: 1. "It is lawful and agreeable to the word that any of the assemblies mentioned have power to convent and call before them any person within their bounds. 2. To hear and determine such causes and differences as come orderly before them. 3. They have also some power in censures."

These things we fell upon debating: and, first, upon the first proposition; and it was held to be too large; therefore, after long debate, it was voted some addition should be put to it, to restrain it to what we mean. Then was there a long agitation what the addition should be: at last, it was resolved upon this clause,—"when the ecclesiastical business which is before them doth concern."

Then fell we to find out places to prove the proposition: and the eighteenth of Matthew was produced, and debated all this day: at last it was put to the question, and voted, that the argument from thence is not answered.

Monday, Tuesday, Oct. 7, 8.]—These days I was at Munden.

Wednesday, Oct. 9.]—The first thing done to-day was, that a report from the first committee, concerning something of baptism, was read:—

1. "That baptism is to be administered on the Lord's day, or on a day of a public meeting, not delaying beyond the second Lord's day.

2. "The place,—the congregation where the child was born: and at the place where the minister stands in his ministry.

3. "Some questions to be proposed to the parent:—

1. " Do you believe all the articles of faith contained in Scripture?

2. " That all men and this child are born in sin?

3. " That the blood and Spirit washeth away sin?

4. " Will you have, therefore, this child baptized?"

This was fallen upon by a vote to be debated instantly, because of despatching of the Directory.

And in debating of this business, the mind of the Assembly, about the baptizing of a child was, " that a child born at a great distance from the parish-church may be baptized at the next church, by the leave of the minister:" and about the place of the font or vessel of baptizing, it was resolved, it should be in what place the people may best see and hear. The Scots urged hard to have it at the pulpit. Here fell in a debate about fonts: some called to have them to be demolished: but this was cried against: only the Scots desired, that the place of it might be altered; viz. removed from the church-door. At last, a vote passed that the superstitious place of the font should be altered.

Then fell we upon the question, Whether the parent, at the baptism of his child, is to be questioned about his faith? And this held us all the day, but we determined it not, but referred it till to-morrow.

Thursday, Oct. 10.]—Our first work this morning was about divers ministers; some approved,—some refused. Which done, Mr. *Marshal* reported concerning a preface to the Directory, but not yet finished.

Then began we upon our work; the question, " Whether the parent, at the baptizing of his child, is to answer any question, or make any profession of his faith, and stipulation in behalf of the child?" The Scots did urge it mightily, because of the use of it in all reformed churches.

Mr. *Marshal* moved, That it might be utterly omitted; but Mr. *Henderson* showed what distaste this might give to other churches.

Dr. *Gouge* moved with the Scots, and so did Mr. *Gattaker*.

Mr. *Wilson* opposed it as unwarrantable, to make any memorials which God hath not made.

Mr. *Walker:* In all times there hath been a stipulation; and baptism being the seal of the covenant, *ergo,* is not to be put to a blank.

Mr. *Nye:* 1. This will be an unnecessary burden: 2.

This will break uniformity; for though some will do this, others will not.

Mr. *Calamy:* Those that were baptized by John, and those catechumens that professed, did it not only 'nomine suo,' but also of their children.

Mr. *Bridges:* It is the proper work of Christ to appoint memorials.

If such confession be made, and that in regard of child, so it hangs baptism too much upon a confession: or in regard of parent, and then it may be a wrong to put that to him that is a member, and not member alike.

This debate held us all day: at last it was voted affirmatively, that the parent should make a profession at the baptism of his child.

Friday, Oct. 11.]—Our work this morning was forward about a profession of the parent at the presenting of the child; viz. after what manner this profession shall be, viz. whether by question and answer.

Mr. *Wilson* argued, that there is no ground from Scripture. Dr. *Gouge* produced 1 Pet. iii. 21. This held a large discussion.

The conclusion was, that it was voted, that the manner of the parent's profession should be by question and answer.

Then came this to debate:—"The manner shall be so as that the parent need only to signify his assent." Which was voted affirmatively; but the meaning of the Assembly was, that if the parent be absent, the man that presents the child, in his stead, do give this assent.

Then fell we upon the questions themselves; and, with much ado, concluded upon them before we rose.

Wednesday, Oct. 16.]—Monday and Tuesday I was absent. On Wednesday, our first work was about the examination of the ministers for the north. And we had two votes upon it: 1. That they should be examined: 2. That this should not be but by the ordinary committee of examination. And then we had a long canvass about a choice of a committee for this purpose: and the conclusion was, that this last vote did only hold in reference to York and Durham cities: and as for all the ministers for other places, should be examined by the ordinary committee.

Then was there a petition from the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, about their minister to be now chosen, the place

being now void: which was soon determined; for one of the two that were nominated, did decline the business.

Then fell out a motion about printing of Bibles, that the Houses might be solicited to set an easy rate upon Bibles. This cost some discussion.

Then fell we upon the work of the day; which was this, that 1 Cor. v. 2, 5, 7, 12, 13, shall be brought to prove excommunication.

This place was opposed by this argument: If this hold out excommunication, then may a man be excommunicate by one man, and absent, and before admonition, and upon rumour only.

This was easily answered: 1. Here was apostolic power; and the rumour was ὅλως ἀκούεται.

Mr. *Whittacre* held this place did not prove a cutting-off from the eucharist: in ver. 2, ὄλεθρος σαρκὸς is not taken for mortification. "Traditio Satanæ" seems not to be extraordinary; for that sorrow that this bred in the person guilty, and the whole church, is most extraordinary. Many Greeks thought it punishment upon the body. This gave occasion to a dispute, which held us all the day: in conclusion, it was put to the question, whether this fifth of 1 Cor. should be alleged as a place to prove excommunication; and it was voted affirmatively; but I gave my denial.

Thursday, Oct. 17.]—The first thing done to-day was, that some papers were sent in to us as a reference from the judges of assize in Surrey, in point of blasphemy, whereof a man and woman there stand charged: one, a woman, who said that Christ was a bastard: the other, a man, whose common questions and answers were these:—"Who made you? My Lord of *Essex*.—Who redeemed you? Sir *W. Waller*.—Who sanctified and preserved you? My Lord of *Warwick*." The woman's name was *Jane Stratton* of Southwark, the man's, *John Hart*. Our resolution was, that these were horrid blasphemies, and we desired that exemplary justice might be showed upon them: and Dr. *Burgess*, Mr. *Marshal*, and myself moved, that since such an occasion was offered, we should present some request to the two Houses, that strict laws and penalties should be published against blasphemy, which doth increase; and a committee was chosen for that purpose.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, to debate Matt. xviii. 17, 18, for proof of excommunication.

Mr. *Coleman* first opposed it thus: that in 1 Cor. v. is a miraculous act: for there is, 1. Paul's spirit; not his pastoral spirit, for that would show the ministry of Corinth was not sufficient; therefore, it was the apostolic power. 2. There was the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. So that Matt. xviii. 17, cannot be of the same nature with this scripture; for that in 1 Cor. v. treats of "cruciatus corporeus;" as Chrysostom, Ambrose, De Valencia, Cajetan, and the German divines, divers of them, hold: and he concluded that ἐξαρεῖτε τὸν πονηρὸν, in Theophylact, Theodoret, and in the copy sent from the patriarch of Alexandria to king James, it is πονηρόν.

This discourse was held against order, because that place was voted yesterday: so he spake against Matt. xviii. thus:—

If excommunication be here instituted, the execution of it is not blameable: but John blames Diotrephes for executing it; and Zechariah xiv. 7, prophesieth there should be no more excommunication: and Lev. xvi. 16, Psal. lxviii. 19, 1 Cor. x. 1, tell of the tabernacle's dwelling in the midst of the people's uncleanness: that Christ gave gifts for the rebellion, &c.

These were hardly thought worth answering, yet Mr. *Marshal* gave some answer.

Then did Dr. *Temple* and Mr. *Gattaker* oppose this place in Matt. xviii. as improper to prove excommunication; viz. this place is to be understood of private offences, of which the church is to take no notice. 2. These are such as one brother may forgive to another. 3. "Ecclesia" signifies a greater number than two or three. 4. "Let him be to thee;" i. e. to thee, and not to the church. 5. "As a heathen;" i. e. avoid his company. 6. This is not an injunction, but a permission, how far a man may estrange himself from an offending brother.

Mr. *Gillespie* undertook to answer all this: and divers replies and objections besides were made 'pro et contra;' and so our time was spent, and nothing concluded on.

Friday, Oct. 18.]—After some business about a minister for Durham, we fell upon our work, upon Matt. xviii. Mr.

Gattaker first spake against the propriety of this place: and I after him, conceiving the place to speak, 1. Of offence given from a member to the pastor; for Mark ix. 35, it is plain this speech was only spoken to the twelve. 2. That it speaketh of shaming an offender, and not of censuring; for that the two or three, and the church, had to do about the offender but in the same kind. 3. The heathen and publicans had access "ad sacra:" but the Jews abhorred their civil society.

Mr. *Whittacre* took at me, and proved that these texts hath neither act nor agent for excommunication: not an act; for to be as a publican, &c. includeth not excommunication, as I had cleared it: not an agent; for Christ spake of a church now in being, and that church had no excommunicate. The offence, also, here spoken of, was merely private, and not of the church's cognizance. Lastly, Every particular here mentioned may be performed, and yet no excommunication.

Mr. *Seaman:* 1. There is a kind of communion common to all sorts: so had all nations some communion "in sacris" with the Jews; but there was a nearer communion betwixt Jews and Jews.

2. There is a power of forgiving of sins common to all; as, man's offence of his brother; but there is also a particular power of forgiving or retaining, and this is in "jure politico:" now in this chapter our Saviour speaks of both these.

While he was in speaking, Mr. *Gurdon*, of the House of Commons, came in, and from the House desired, that a fast might be speedily, in regard of the readiness of our armies to be engaged in the west. This cost some debate, whether to have it through the whole city, or in some churches: it was concluded, it should be desired to be in the whole city, and a strict prohibition of working on that or any other fast-days.

Then fell we on our text again: and Mr. *Gattaker* answered Mr. *Seaman:* and Mr. *Gillespie*, on the contrary, spake largely to prove the pregnancy of the place, and to show our differing interpretations to be inconsistent with the church.

Mr. *Herle* went about to answer Mr. *Whittacre*, and Mr. *Reynolds* likewise.

I answered them with this question: 1. Are the two or three here named witnesses, as they would have them? for it is plain these must be admonishers. 2. The text and speech of our Saviour was upon occasion of the disciples quarrelling: now how improper is it, when he is speaking of offence betwixt brother and brother, to conceive what such a one shall be to the church, and not to the party offended? for so you understand 'Let him be to thee,'—that is, to the church. This canvass, at last, was put to the question, and voted, that this place should be added to prove excommunication.

Then Sir *John Clotworthy* brought and read an order for a fast on Tuesday: and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, Oct. 23.]—The first thing done this day was, that Mr. *Gurdon* and Mr. *Trenchard,* of the House of Commons, came from the House, and desired, from them, that we would spend some time this morning in prayer, for that they supposed our armies are engaged. Whereupon Mr. *Marshal,* Mr. *Whittacre,* Mr. *Caryll,* were appointed for the exercises: and so we spent all the morning in prayer. Before we rose, my Lord Admiral and Lord of *Pembroke,* came in to us, sent from the House of Lords, to hasten us in settling the government of the church; for that opinions grow very many and blasphemous.

We adjourned to the afternoon, and sat, but I was absent, being at the burial of Mrs. *Lamot.* The work of the Assembly was in debating 1 Tim. i. 20; and it was voted.

Thursday, Oct. 24.]—Our first work this morning was about our taxes, and a committee was chosen to attend the committee for plundered ministers to-morrow about it. I was one of the number.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was still upon excommunication.

Old Mr. *Wilkinson* first spake to it:—Excommunication is an ejection, out of the society of the faithful, of a scandalous, impious, obstinate person, to be done by the presbytery and the consent of the people. Eli suffered for an omission of such a thing; and under the law, if any refused to submit to the censure of the priest, he was to die, &c.

But the work that lay before us, was this proposition:—"The presbyteries, which were over more congregations than one, in the apostles' days, in Jerusalem and Ephesus,

as they had the power of ordination, so had they of excommunication."

Mr. *Marshal* first moved that we might begin with excommunication in particular congregations, as most orderly to begin with the lowest first.

2. If the classical be made the first seat of it, then congregations will seem to be excluded.

3. We must either begin at the lowest or the highest.

Mr. *Palmer* moved, that before we went about this, we shall fix the *ubi* of suspension from the sacrament.

And here was some interjection of opinions; some moving to begin with one thing, some,—with another.

At last, it was resolved, by vote, to debate suspension; viz. who should do it.

This was easily resolved on,—that it should be the officers of a particular congregation who should do it: but the great business was, to find out some proofs for it: and very much was offered to prove it; and this business took up our whole time; and yet we concluded not on it, but adjourned.

Friday, Oct. 25.]—We fell presently upon our work of the day, about the parties that should suspend from the sacrament those that were scandalous; and it was quickly resolved on, that the officers were to do it: but I gave my No: for I am not convinced of "subjectum quæstionis" that there is suspension.

While we were about this business, Mr. *Tate* and Mr. *Salway* came with an order from the House of Commons, that called for our Directory to be sent in thither, and whatsoever else we have ready. This cost us some discourse: at last we resolved the Directory should be brought on Monday and Tuesday next: and for the matter of government, we appointed a committee to methodize our votes thereupon, and to report it on Thursday come se'nnight.

Then Dr. *Burgess* moved, that the Assembly would desire the House of Commons to resolve them in point of a seal for the instruments that they are to have that are ordained: but this we had not long business about.

Then fell we to our work again, to produce proofs for this proposition last voted.

Dr. *Gouge* urged this reason: Officers have care of men's souls; to restrain from the sacrament the unworthy, concerns their souls; *ergo*. I denied this sequel,—they have care

of their souls; *ergo*, must restrain them from the sacrament; —because there is not that spirit of discerning now in the world, which once was in the prophets.

While we were in this debate, there came an order from the House of Lords, desiring that we would appoint two to preach before their House on Wednesday next, in the Abbey;—and Dr. *Smith* and Dr. *Stanton* were appointed for the purpose.

At last this argument;—"They that have authority to judge of, and admit to, the sacrament, such as are to receive it, have authority to keep back such as shall be found unworthy,"—was voted to be a proof; but I gave my negative.

Thursday, Nov. 7.]—Till this day, I came not into the Assembly, being detained at Munden, by the fast, and by the 5th of November.

Our work this day was, that Mr. *Marshal* first reported something concerning the preface for the Directory, which was recommitted yesterday: which when it was read, Mr. *Marshal* related, that he had received a letter of thanksgiving, from Dunmow in Essex, to the Assembly, for recommending a minister to them.

Then fell we upon the preface reported: and the business in hand was this:—"That our meaning in the Directory is not that the ministers should not turn the materials of it into an ordinary form of prayer and exhortation:" and this held some debate;—first, whether to leave this clause out; and then, if not, to word our meaning aright.—While we were about this, the Prince Elector came in. We went on in a long debate: in midst of which came in a letter from York, from the Lord Mayor and committee, for more ministers; which was referred to the committee for the purpose. And so we fell upon our work again, on this clause in the preface,—"Wherein our meaning is, that the general heads, the sense and scope of the prayers, and other parts of public worship, being known unto all, there may be a consent of all the churches in those things, which concern the service and worship of God." This we had a great deal of to do to form into fit terms: at last it was ordered in these terms forementioned.

Then went we on with another clause:—"The ministers may be hereby directed, in their administration, to keep

like soundness in doctrine and prayer." This was ordered without any debate.

Then came this third clause,—"And that the weaker sort, both of ministers and people, may have, if need be, some help and furniture, and yet so as the Directory make them not more slothful and negligent in stirring up their gifts." I excepted at putting in the word "people," as dangerous; because some held, any of the people may sometimes be the mouth of the congregation.

Others excepted at the phrase, "the weaker sort of ministers," as disgraceful: whereupon this clause was tied up with that that went before,—thus, "They may keep like soundness, &c. and, if need be, may have help," &c.

Then had we a large discourse, whether negatively to add something, forbidding this Directory to be turned in a set form.

This I spake against, as dangerous to hint any thing against a form of prayer: and this held us a very long and strong debate; at last it was put to the question, Whether we should proceed to say any such thing? and it was voted negatively.

Then was it put to the question, Whether there should be any thing added for explanation to the words "slothful and negligent?" and it was voted affirmatively: but the explanation was referred till to-morrow.

Then my Lord Admiral, and my Lord of *Pembroke*, and four of the House of Commons, came in to require us to hasten in what we have done concerning the government of the church; and the rather, because they are solicited by the committee of the state of Scotland for it. This cost us some large discourse; and now the Independents began to talk of sending in dissenting reasons: but we ordered, that that which we had done already, and voted so long since to be sent up, should be sent up.

Then Mr. *Nye* and Mr. *Carter*, jun. entered their dissent. My Lord of *Pembroke* was exceeding urgent and smart against all those, that should go about to hinder the work of the church.

Friday, Nov. 8.]—This morning the Prince Elector came in before we were set.

Being set, Dr. *Burgess* read what we had done and finished of government, to be sent in to the Houses: and he and the scribes compared the original and his transcript.

In which business there was some stop, by Mr. *Ley's* speaking about some ministers in the interim: which cost some hot debate, but with much ado was hushed, and we fell to our work again: and there was some controversy about the title, which was at last resolved upon to be this,—"Concerning some part of church-government."

Then Mr. *Bridges* entered his dissent to the third proposition, and to the advice, and to the unseasonableness of it. So likewise did Mr. *Goodwin* to the third proposition: and a long debate we had upon the business; but at last, with much tugging, we chose a committee, and sent in the business of presbytery.

Then fell we upon the preface of the Directory again, about an addition to that we had in hand yesterday: and Mr. *Henderson* offered some addition and explanation,—"And yet so as they become not slothful, but every one, by meditation, so to furnish his heart, &c. that he may be able to pray, &c. as if he had no help or furniture from this Directory." This cost some large discussion: among other things, I moved, That since doctrine and prayer are joined together immediately before, "exhortation" might be also joined here with it: which was done accordingly; and so the clause passed; only the conclusion taken out,—"as if he had no furniture from this Directory."

Then was there an order, that the committee that had the preface before in hand, should farther consider what is needful more to be put in the preface.

Then had we a long debate about a minister in Kent, that was put out, and he is now tendered to be put in: and about another there that the malignants would put out.

Monday, Nov. 11.]—This morning I was in the Assembly, having my place supplied at Munden yesterday, by Mr. *Baker,* jun.

The first thing done was, that the protestation was read, which we took at our first setting, and which is ordered to be read every Monday.

Then was there a motion made by Mr. *Marshal,* for redressing the late coming of some members of the Assembly; which cost some discourse, but nothing done in it but this; that it was ordered, that the scribes should, out of their books, give account of who are diligent.

Then fell we upon our work, which was about the Di-

rectory; to have it read over again and examined: and there was some time spent before we could conclude upon the manner of examination. At last we fell upon it, and the two scribes read each one a copy.

And, first, in the title, there was singing of psalms left out; which I moved again and again to be put in, and so it was accordingly. Then was the Directory read, and some exceptions here and there taken at some passages in it: among other things, in the Directory for prayer, there was a long business about praying for the parliament, whether to put it in as an ordinary or extraordinary prayer:—so at last it was put in as both.

When we had done the Directory for prayer, before the sermon, the Prince Elector gave us thanks for remembering him in our Directory and prayers, and said he had always desired to have the prayers of the Church of England.

In the conclusion of the Directory, for the ordinary assemblers, there was some controversy about the blessing;—upon this clause, "He is to dismiss them with a blessing, unless some ordinances of Christ, which concern the whole congregation, do follow:" whether, if the Lord's Supper, there is no blessing dismissive till that be done? and the sense of the Assembly was, to leave it indifferent, and the minister to pronounce a blessing before and after; and so we adjourned.

Tuesday, Nov. 12.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Mr. *Palmer* reported the names of two ministers, that are appointed to go down into the north. Mr. *Ley*, also, as he used, reported the names of some ministers appointed to sequestrations.

Then Dr. *Stanton* reported, from the second committee, a Directory concerning the Sabbath: which being read by the scribes, there was some debate about the two men that should go into the north; whether they should be examined or no. At last it was concluded they should not, being men of very known worth.

Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was, the review of the Directory concerning the administration of the sacrament.

And, first, of baptism: wherein there was omitted any hint of giving warning to the minister before. Whereupon

I moved, that that might be taken order for; seeing that, in our old rubric it was enjoined, that warning should be given the night before: and now there is more need, seeing the minister is to make an exhortation, and to give some instruction concerning baptism. This motion of mine was backed by Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Marshal*, and others. Whereupon this clause was added,—"warning being given to the minister the day before."

As we went forward, we fell upon the scruple again of the parent's giving answer to some queries at the child's baptism: which, in conclusion, was determined by a vote (but with much tugging), that the queries before set down should stand.

Then came this clause, "Asking the name of the child, he calling the child by his name:"—here was some controversy about the word "his:" but, in conclusion, it was resolved to stand.

In the Directory for the Communion,—there was, first, some question upon examining of the communicants; the clause was this: "None to be admitted but those, that, upon examination by the minister before the church-officers, shall be found to have a competent measure of knowledge," &c. This Dr. *Temple* and myself excepted to, for that it importeth that we must examine those that we know already competent. However, the phrase was continued, but the meaning of the Assembly expressed to be, that those that we know already competent, need not to be examined again.

Then fell we upon the sitting about the table at the receiving of the sacrament; and the Scots' commissioners professed, they could not take it in any sense but sitting to the table, and that they are so engaged from Scotland to take it so; and therefore, they either desired a recommitment of this passage, or that their sense might be expressed in the margin:—which cost a long and large debate: at last it was concluded thus to have it in the text, "About the table; or at it, as in the church of Scotland:" and so they retain their custom, and we of England are left at liberty: and so it was the sense of the Assembly, that we might, at liberty, either cause the communicants to sit at the table, or at some distance about it.

By one o'clock we had finished the Directory quite

through, and so we voted it to be sent up to the Houses. The preface was referred to a committee to be worded; and so we adjourned.

Wednesday, Nov. 13.]—The first thing done this morning was, that Mr. *Rows* and Mr. *Salway* brought in an order from the House of Commons to this purport: The Independents that had entered their dissent to our propositions about presbytery,—viz. Mr. *Goodwin,* Mr. *Bridges,* Mr. *Burroughs,* Mr. *Sympson,* Mr. *Carter,* Mr. *Nye,* Mr. *Green,* had yesterday brought in a petition to the House of Commons, in which they desire that they may have liberty, and a time fixed, to bring in their reasons of dissent. The House gave them leave, and fixed Thursday next. Now this order requires us to take their reasons, and to transmit them with all speed possible: also an order requiring us to send in word of our resolutions concerning presbytery.

Then did Mr. *Ley* publish the names of some ministers that he had examined: which cost some debate.

Upon the end of it, I moved upon the second order, that our votes about government should be sent up into the Houses speedily; which was backed by Mr. *Gillespie,* Mr. *Newcomen,* Dr. *Burgess,* and others: and so it was ordered to be done with all speed convenient, and a committee chosen to draw them up.

I moved, that since the example of the church of Ephesus should be brought in for a presbytery,—at the framing of which up, I was absent,—that the Assembly, if they had not already taken notice of it, would observe, for the more confirmation of it, how many ministers were with Paul there of his own company: and I was desired to bring in my notions to the committee.

Then fell we upon the work of the day; which was the Directory for observation of the Sabbath, brought in yesterday by the second committee.

There was large debate, at the first, about the title; and it was concluded to be, "For the sanctifying of the Lord's Day, the Christian Sabbath."

Then fell a debate, whether we should handle the celebration of the Sabbath in our Directory, or catechism and confession: and how we should do it, to avoid offence of Judaism on one hand, and profaneness on the other: and how we may bring in the private duties of the Sabbath in

our own families in a Directory for public worship. But it was concluded to fall upon the work, and so to it we went: and, first; this proposition,—1. "The Sabbath is so to be remembered before it come, that our work be laid aside before," &c.

This cost debate, about the phrase, "remembering before it come:" and I, among others, spake against it, as putting a gloss upon the memorandum of the fourth command, never heard of before: but the Assembly voted the phrase "in terminis:" though Dr. *Burgess*, Mr. *Coleman*, and Mr. *Reynolds*, joined with me in the exception.

Mr. *Wilkinson*, sen. put this query,—how we should regulate iron works and glass works? but this was answered by this next proposition,—

Second *Prop.* "To abstain from all unnecessary labours, worldly sports, and recreations."

The debate upon this was, about putting in prohibition of worldly discourses; and some moved to add, "worldly thoughts." This was scrupulous, whether we should not be a scorn, to go about to bind men's thoughts: but at last it was concluded on to be added, both for the more piety, and for that the fourth command includes it.

When this was over, Dr. *Burgess* spake of a letter that hath lain by us a day or two from a grave divine beyond sea, which he desired might be read: and so it was; but it was first put to the question, Whether it should be read, to hinder our present work? and it was voted it should.

The letter came from one *Wolfgangus Magerus*, a preacher at Basil, who was once of Trinity College, about a son of his that came over with Sir *Oliver Flemming*, with promises from him of a place in Trinity College; but because of the times he cannot do it; *ergo*, he desires that his son may, by us, be commended to the Prince Elector.

The resolve of the Assembly was, not to meddle in a matter of this nature; and so we returned to our work.

Third *Prop.* "That there be no feasting on the Sabbath."

This Mr. *Marshal* opposed, and Dr. *Temple* and I myself. They instanced in Christ's feasting, Luke xiv. and in his feasting,—at least, dining,—with all his disciples in Peter's house, Matt. viii.

Therefore it was proposed thus,—"That the diet on the sabbath-day be so ordered, that no servants or others be

unnecessarily kept from the public service :" and so it was passed.

Thursday, Nov. 14.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Mr. *Marshal* moved something about a minister for Manningtree in Essex: they have an order from my Lord of *Manchester* to choose their lecturer from time to time: he desired, in their behalf, that they might have the order under the seal in their keeping: and the question was, Whether the Assembly should keep it as a record, since it sends the minister hither to be examined. It was put to the question, and voted, that the order should be redelivered to the parish.

Then fell we upon our work, which was the drawing up of some votes that we had passed concerning church-governors, and concerning the church of Ephesus being a presbyterian church, or a church consisting of more congregations than one. This was concluded upon presently; and we fell upon the Directory for the Sabbath.

Fourth *Prop.* " Preparation to be had privately for themselves and families before they go to the public assembly." And here the question was, Whether reading the Scriptures should be enjoined before they go to the church, because that some families cannot have time to read the word before they go, because of their distance? whereupon that was left out.

Fifth *Prop.* " That all people come to the public worship timely," &c. This was easily concluded on.

Sixth *Prop.* " Between the times of public worship, after a little time for refreshing, the time to be spent in reading, meditation," &c. Now this was thought impossible, in regard of the distance of many houses from the church: therefore it was added at large, " that what time is vacant in the whole day from the public worship, should be spent in reading, singing, repetitions," &c.

Then was there a question, Whether to express discipline to be exercised on this day? and this cost a large debate: but was concluded to wave it in this place, for that we are to make a Directory especially of the exercise of discipline.

Then was there a large debate about repetition of sermons: and it was moved, that it might be expressed " brief and discreet repetition," because of the abuse of some in repetition. Mr. *Seaman* and Mr. *Vines* were urgent to have

it put in; but the Assembly ordered it otherwise: and so had we done with the Directory for the Sabbath; when Dr. *Burgess*, having drawn up our votes about church-officers to be transmitted to the Houses, reported them; and having altered the place of some of them, it bred a large debate: which when we had got over, there fell another debate about naming church-governors, whether to call them "ruling-elders" or no: which held a very sad and long discussion: at last it was determined by vote thus,—"such as, in the reformed churches, are commonly called 'elders.'"

Then Mr. *Gillespie* moved, that they should be called "ruling-elders;" but this prevailed not.

Then did the seven dissenters, the Independents, give in their reasons, of some eight sheets of paper: and it was blotted in divers places, which was soon observed by the Assembly, and it was scrupled, whether these obliterations might not in time be laid to the Assembly's charge: whereupon it was ordered, that an exact account of all the blottings should be taken, and their own hands subscribed to the number of them.

After this business of theirs had been awhile canvassed, we fell again upon our work about ruling-elders, and about transmitting our votes; which held us till one o'clock; and, in fine, we chose a committee for sending them in to-morrow morning.

Friday, Nov. 15.]—The first thing done to-day was, that upon the report of Mr. *Ley* of some name of ministers examined by him. Then fell discourse upon these two things: 1. That some are put into sequestrations, not examined here, —as, a fell-monger in Surrey: 2. About one *Vaughan*, commended to a sequestration, and yet found a malignant.

Then Dr. *Burgess* reported the managing of the putting in of our votes to the Houses.

Before we fell to read the dissenting reasons, I moved, that our Directory might be thought of to be sent up to the Houses before we fall upon the long work before us; but the scribe assured, that it could not be transcribed till Monday; and then it is concluded to conclude it.

Then the scribe read the names of them that are this week to pray with the two Houses and committee of both kingdoms.

Then Mr. *Wilson* reported of a petition from Cumberland

and Westmoreland to the House of Commons, for ministers to be sent to them, and desired that the Assembly would recommend their petition thither: which was ordered accordingly to be done by a committee, long since appointed for the business of the north.

Then fell we upon the great business of reading the reasons dissenting: and Mr. *Goodwin* read it. The first reason was this:—

"If many congregations be under one presbyterian government,—then every elder in that presbytery is an elder of every one of those congregations. But he is not, for he preacheth not to them." This argument they have spent the most of their stock upon: though they have also taken up all the branches of our proofs, and taken on them to give reasons against. The business was so long, that Mr. *Goodwin* read as long as he could, and then Mr. *Nye* took at him.

Which when they had finished and all read over, the dissenters confessed, that, through haste, there had some things slipped them: they desired, therefore, that they might have time to amend them. Mr. *Marshal* moved for a committee to take the business into consideration; and observed, that there were some things in the paper, which properly are not against the paper we have sent up: as, about the point of synods; and many things also which were never urged by them before, when we were arguing upon this point: and that those things that they then urged, are newly moulded and newly methodized: so that it will be a work of no small time to answer and conclude upon them.

Mr. *Vines* shewed, in many particulars, the unjust proceeding of the dissenters in this:—1. In that they, four several times, vilify presbytery below episcopacy. 2. That they level their battery rather against presbytery itself, than against our proofs and texts that held it out.

Mr. *Rutherford* also urged some of them, for that they professed to agree to the proposition in some sense, and yet have subscribed against it.

Mr. *Burroughs*, who was the man went about to answer all: and so there was some discourse bandied back and forward about it. At last a committee was chosen of twenty, to take these reasons into consideration:—Dr. *Temple*, Mr. *Tuckney*, Mr. *Marshal*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Vines*,

Mr. *Seaman,* Dr. *Hoyle,* and others, and among them myself; and seven to be the quorum.

Then was there a motion again about the hastening of the Directory; which was desired to be forwarded with all possible conveniency.

Then did Mr. *Bridges* desire to give two things in caution to the committee now chosen :—1. To consider that, if there be any thing new in their reasons, that it proceeded from this;—that when they were arguing the case in the Assembly, they were stopped with this,—that they should bring in more arguments when they brought in their reasons.—This was thought to be an aspersion to the Assembly, and cost some sharp debate.

Mr. *Calamy,* when we were about to rise, made a motion, that some ministers might be thought of for the wounded soldiers that are about the town.

Monday, Nov. 18.]—This day I was absent at Munden. The work of the Assembly was, to debate, Whether those that were ordained deacons by the bishops, are to be ordained presbyters, or have enough by their ordination already? and after three hours' debate, it was voted, that they should be ordained again presbyters.

Tuesday, Nov. 19.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Mr. *Whittacre* moved for ministers for the attendance upon the maimed soldiers: which held some time to find out a course for the spiritual comfort of the poor souls. At last it was concluded, that Mr. *Bond* should take some course about the Savoy, who is master of it; and that some London and Southwark ministers of the Assembly should speak to some ministers in the city and borough for the purpose.

Then was there a motion about ministers for the north: which also took up some time.

Then came we to inquire after the work of the day; and, indeed, could find none: for the order of the day was, to fall upon the preface of the Directory: but Dr. *Burgess,* that had it in his hands, was attending upon the House of Commons with a message from us. Then was there inquiry of the second and third committee, whether they had any report; and they had none. Then was there a motion for declaring against wakes and dedication-feasts; which was done without any great ado.

Then was there speech about Holydays, and some mo-

tion about declaring against them. This held us much canvassing; and it was well approved that the superstition of Holydays should be cried down, but yet some days allowed for relief of servants. The conclusion was, that the business was recommitted to the first committee to consider of it.

Then was there a motion upon the vote yesterday; viz. "Whether deacons, that are not to take upon them pastoral charge in sequestrations, should be made ministers for those sequestrations?" This held some discussion: but it was concluded they should be ordained again.

Then did Dr. *Burgess* report the success of their message to the House about the Independents' reasons,—that we could not send them and our answers in so soon as they would expect: they refer us to our own time, but desired that we would make what haste we could; and that that House desires our Directory, and what else we have ready, to be sent in with all speed.

Then did he read the preface to the Directory over; and after him the scribe read it over again, and some things were discussed and amended as we went along.

Among other things, we fell upon the point of uniformity, which the Independents were ever opposite to, and so we fell into a needless debate; which to cut off, it was called to adjourn: but, before, we moved the sending in of the Directory: which the Independents did also most vehemently oppose again: so that it was referred till to-morrow.

Wednesday, Nov. 20.]—The first thing done to-day was a motion made by myself, that we should desire the two Houses to order, that on Wednesday next, being the fast, the propositions now gone might be backed with earnest prayer and humiliation: which motion Dr. *Burgess* approved as pious, but knew not how such a motion might be taken by the Houses, as seeming to direct them: and so it fell.

Then did Mr. *Ley* publish the names of ministers examined.

Then Mr. *Byfield* read an order of the House of Commons for the hastening of our Directory.

So we fell upon our work: which was upon the preface of the Directory.

Mr. *Marshal* first desired to speak something against one clause in it; which is this,—"that in reference to our cove-

venant, which tieth to uniformity as much as may be, we hold out this Directory." Hereupon he used this argument: that if this clause were left out,—then, in swerving from the Directory, we sin only against civil power: but when reference to the covenant comes in,—then, if we be not punctual in every point of the Directory, our covenant flies in our face.

Mr. *Nye* did much more cross the clause.

Mr. *Goodwin* likewise would not allow that matters of prudence ought to be imposed upon the church.

These scruples were at last healed by some words added: and so the whole preface and Directory ordered to be sent in to-morrow morning.

Then Dr. *Burgess* reported that piece of the Directory concerning sanctifying of the Lord's Day: which is done, and referred to him to draw up.

There was some difference about the title,—which was this: Mr. *Ley*, who hath written about the Sabbath, desired that the word "Sabbath" might be added: which, by vote, was gainsaid in the title, for that it is expressed in the body of it. Mr. *Ley* offered to put in his dissent: which was not allowed him, seeing he hath given in no reasons to the contrary heretofore to the Assembly. And so the whole Directory for the Sabbath was read over, and ordered to be sent in likewise.

Then Dr. *Burgess* tendered a clause for the keeping of every family and person to their own minister: but this Mr. *Marshal* said did more properly belong to discipline.

Mr. *Sedgwick* said: This reports two things:—1. That every church have a good minister: 2. That it be able to hold the whole congregation.

Mr. *Palmer* answered him: That our Directory is made for sufficient ministers, or our reformation will be nothing. But this business was put to question, and voted to be deferred till some other time.

Thursday, Nov. 21.]—Mr. *Ley* published the names of some ministers examined, among which one that is not in orders. This cost some debate; for it was scrupulous, on one hand, to admit such a one; and, on the other hand, Mr. *Newcomen* said, that there were not above four families in the place that he is to go unto: so it was thought fit to let the business alone, and not to meddle with it.

In the interim of this debate, the Lord Admiral and the Lord of *Pembroke* came in.

There was also some speech about one *Vaughan*, of Dover, who was turned out of his place for malignity, and now seeks for another place: but, among others, my Lord of *Warwick* told of his still persevering malignant: and so we had no more to say to him.

Then the committee that was appointed to bring in the Directory to the Houses, reported they had done it, and that it was well entertained.

Then Dr. *Stanton* reported, from the second committee, a Directory for marriage. In the interim of the reading of which, there were three books distributed to every of us; —viz. "Necessity of nearer Conjunction among Evangelical Protestants;" Mr. *Vines's* sermon at the extraordinary fast, Oct. 22; and Mr. *Woodcock's*, at the ordinary fast, Oct. 30. Then began we to debate the Directory but newly brought in.

First, Mr. *Henderson* moved, that something might be said concerning espousals or contracts: which was ordered to be referred to the same committee. Then was there some debate, whether marriage should be denied to be a part of God's worship, or whether to be held out as a mere civil thing.

Mr. *Goodwin* urged, Eccles. ix. 2, in regard of the oath of God; to shew obedience to magistrates, to be a mere civil thing, and yet a tie of obedience from God to him. I denied that gloss of the place: and said that the oath there is not an oath taken by the subject to David, but the oath made by God to David's house. A great debate ensued upon the question, whether marriage is a part of God's worship, or whether a mere civil contract? and when we had all done, we were forced to recommit it.

Friday, Nov. 22.]—The first thing done was, that Mr. *Byfield* told the names of those that are to pray with the two Houses the next week. Dr. *Burgess* hereupon told, that some who were appointed heretofore, have been slack, and desired more care.

Then did Mr. *Ley* report the name of one minister examined.

Then did Mr. *Chambers* relate some damnable blasphemies uttered by one:—

As, on Gen. vi. 6, "That it was untrue that God repented he made man.

"That the soul dies with the body, and all things shall come to an end, but God.

"That Christ came to live thirty-two years; and for nothing else that he knew.

"That God loves any creature as well as man.

"That we are not to be saved by that Christ that suffered at Jerusalem, but by a Christ formed in us:"—and many other detestable things: whereupon it was ordered, that these things should be presently brought to the Lords, and they desired to send to apprehend the man.

Then did Dr. *Stanton* report again concerning marriage, what was recommitted to the second committee yesterday.

Then did we fall upon the report: the first clause of which was this:—"Although marriage be no sacrament,—yet, because instituted in innocency, &c. therefore, a minister should be at the managing of it:" or to this purpose. I desired the first clause, "Although it be no sacrament," might be omitted, as needless to express: and so as an improper reason why a minister should meddle in the managing of it, because it shews as if the minister had nothing to meddle in but sacraments.

Dr. *Gouge* backed me in it: and Mr. *Gillespie* tendered some qualification; thus, "Although marriage be no sacrament, nor peculiar to the church, but common to mankind:" and this was embraced.

Then followed,—"Yet, because it was instituted by God in innocency, and those that marry, are to marry in the Lord, —we hold it expedient that it be solemnized by none but a lawful minister." This first clause was excepted against, as an improper reason why a minister should act in it. I added, that if it were added, "that God instituted marriage with a blessing," it would invigorate the reason. This Mr. *Rutherford* backed: and this business had a long debate: at last it was put to the question, and voted negatively, that this clause should not stand.

Then fell we upon the business of the expediency of the minister's marrying of people. Mr. *Wilson* thought this laid more work upon the minister than the word of God layeth on him.

This Dr. *Burgess* soon answered.

Mr. *Goodwin* also strongly excepted against it; which held a long and a large debate: he presented this,—that the minister should do it "per modum designationis," as deputed by themagistrate, and not "virtute officii;" and that, therefore, it should be expressed, not that he should "bless" the people, but "pray for a blessing:"—which was a distinction that we could not very well understand, it was so nice; yet, since it gave him content, we passed it, and he went about to draw it up.

Then Dr. *Burgess* reported the acceptance of the Directory in the House of Lords, and entertainment of the report of the blasphemies brought in to them; viz. that they made an order for the blasphemer's apprehending.

So we fell upon our debate again: for Mr. *Goodwin* had drawn up his own mind; but in such terms, that we were to seek in it, and to begin again. And our debate grew so hot, that Mr. *Goodwin* spake of entering his dissent: yet was it at last worded to all content.

Monday, Nov. 25, *Thursday, Nov.* 28.]—These days was I at Munden.

Friday, Nov. 29.]—It was very long this morning before we were forty; for this day was the ordination of ministers in St. Lawrence Church: and it was the first ordination that was yet according to the new platform. This made that our company was very short.

Being full number, we fell upon our work, which was about the Directory for marriage; viz. about parents' not forcing their children to marry, nor denying their consent without just cause. This cost long and large debate,—what remedy children should have, if their parents be unreasonable; and what parents, if children match without their consent: this, in fine, was concluded to be referred to the care of the Parliament, to provide some laws in this point.

Then came to hand the point of precontract: but Mr. *Marshal* and myself spake against requiring any contract before marriage: and so did others after us: whereupon, upon putting it to the question, it was voted to be waved.

Monday, Dec. 2.]—The first thing done was, that Mr. *Tate*, of the House of Commons, did, from that House, desire us to hasten the Directory for marriage and burial; for that the House intends to lay by the book of Common Prayer, and cannot do it till these be finished. Whereupon

we fell to our work about marriage, where we left; which was in a debate, whether marriage should be upon the Sabbath-day, or no. It was concluded, that we advise that there be no marriage on the Sabbath-day; and we passed the whole Directory before we parted.

Which when we had done, the Lord Chancellor of Scotland desired that our business of government might be made as ready as possible against that some of their commissioners go down to the general Assembly, which meets in January next. Whereupon it was ordered, that what is already done, should be brought in on Thursday. There was also a committee made for the summing up a catechism.

Then did Mr. *Marshal* tender a report of answers to the reasons of the dissenters; but it was referred till to-morrow.

Tuesday, Dec. 3.]—The first thing done to day was, that Dr. *Temple* reported a Directory for burial.

Then Mr. *Marshal* offered his report, which he had tendered yesterday; viz. some answer to the Independents' dissenting reasons; but it was thought fit to let the business alone, till all the parts of it were finished. The dissenters desired to alter something in their reasons, which were not so exactly done, through their heat: which cost some debate. At last it was agreed they should represent their alterations in a paper to the Assembly, before there be any change in the original.

It was also ordered, that the Assembly should, some afternoon, be turned into a committee, the seven dissenters excepted, to examine our answer to their reasons before it be published in the Assembly. This the Independents, Mr. *Burroughs* and Mr. *Goodwin*, were so shameless as to except against; and to challenge to be present at the drawing up of our answers: but Mr. *Bridges* was more reasonable.

Then fell we upon the Directory for the burial of the dead.

Mr. *Wilson* excepted at the whole Directory, especially at the minister's being present at such a work as a minister.

Mr. *Rutherford* also was of his mind, and went farther,—that there is no more reason for any part of worship to be at the going of a person out of the world, than at his birth.

This business cost a sad and large debate; but at last we laid it by till to-morrow, and fell upon our Directory for mar-

riage, which was now drawn up anew, or transcribed, and read, and so concluded to be transmitted.

Wednesday, Dec. 4.]—This morning we fell upon the business of burial. Mr. *Palmer* spake for some solemnity in it, so that the superstition be cried down: divers others agreed with him: whereupon it was concluded, to begin first with a negative against superstition, and then to fall upon some affirmative rule. And so there were divers superstitions mentioned; among which I gave in some stock of our country customs. After long debate, considering that if we reckoned some superstitions, and omitted others through forgetfulness, we fixed only against reading, praying, and singing in the way to and at the grave, and at the corpse of the dead; which I had mentioned for a superstition.

Then were called in Mr. *Calendrine,* minister of the Dutch church, and two of their elders, who presented us with a book written by Gulielmus Apollonius, concerning the government of the reformed church, dedicated and intended to us by the classes of Walachia, who set him a-work for this purpose.

The letter which came with the book, was read; and the gentlemen called in again, and thanks given them.

Thursday, Dec. 5.]—The first thing done to-day was, that Dr. *Temple* reported the draught of all our votes concerning church-government: the viewing and examining of which held us all the day.

Friday, Dec. 6.]—This day we fell upon examination of our draught of government, and fell upon some such knots as held us a good while: and, in conclusion, we were forced to pick out a committee, and send them forth to find out some expression to satisfy us, for upon some expression we differed.

Then Mr. *Goodwin* moved something about the emendation of something in their reasons: which cost some debate.

Then Dr. *Burgess* reported what we have finished concerning the Directory for public thanksgiving: which was voted to be sent up.

Then Mr. *Salway,* of the House of Commons, related, that our Directory for marriage is passed in the House; and therefore desired, that our Directory for burial might be hastened. Whereupon we fell upon that business: and, first, there was some motion made for consideration of the place

where to bury: and some moved against burial in the church: but Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Marshal*, and divers others, were of another mind: but it was thought fit not to meddle with this.

Then fell we upon the question, Whether we should have funeral sermons? The Scots' commissioners mightily opposed it; but the most of the Assembly held for them, and that upon these two grounds:—1. Because it cannot be proved that they are unlawful: 2. Because the laying down of them may breed a dangerous effect in this land by so great an alteration. When we had done all, we were glad to lay it by again till Monday.

Monday, Dec. 9.]—We speedily fell upon the business about burial, as soon as we were set: and the matter was, Whether to have any thing spoken at the burial of the dead.

Dr. *Temple* moved, that "something might be said at the very interment of the body:" but this was thought not fit to give any rule for, but rather to pass it over in silence, and so the minister left something to his liberty. Dr. *Temple* moved again, Whether a minister, at putting the body in the ground, may not say, "We commit the body to the ground?" &c. And it was conceived by the Assembly that he might, and the words, "without any ceremony more," do not tie him up from this.

Then fell our great controversy about funeral sermons: and here was our difficulty, how to keep funeral sermons in England for fear of danger by alteration, and yet to give content to Scotland, that are averse from them. It was the sense of the Assembly in general, that funeral sermons may be made, if a minister be called on for it; and the debate was, how to find terms to fit and suit with both parties. At last we fixed on this,—"That the people should take up thoughts and conferences concerning death, mortality, &c. and the minister, if he be present, shall put them in mind of that duty." Here I excepted at the last word "duty;" for that a little speech would put them in mind of the duty of meditating and conferring spiritually: therefore, I moved an alteration, which was much backed by divers, and it was changed "of their duty."

The mind of the Assembly was, that these words give liberty for funeral sermons. And thus had we done the Directory for burial.

Then we fell upon the report of our votes concerning

government, where we had left the last day: and when we had done them, Mr. *Burroughs* entered his dissent against two or three propositions; viz. against subordination of assemblies one to another, and against the instance of the church of Ephesus for a presbytery: and so did Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Carter*, Mr. *Sympson*, and Mr. *Bridges*: and Mr. *Sympson* offered, from Mr. *Goodwin*, to enter his dissent; but we would not admit of any proxies.

Tuesday, Dec. 10.]—This morning we fell upon one title of a head of our platform of government; which was this:—"Of congregational assemblies, or the meeting of ruling-officers in particular congregations, for the government thereof." Here Mr. *Carter* had scruple at this yesterday, because we had not expressed, whether they should meet in the face of the congregation or no: and this was referred to debate this morning: but when we should have fallen upon debating, the Assembly thought not fit to spend time upon the scruple of one that will dissent from every thing that crosseth his opinion: and so we voted the title.

When this was done, Dr. *Gouge* moved for some able ministers for the attendance upon the prisoners. This held some little debate: the conclusion was, that some of our members should speak to the *militia* [*] about this.

Then were produced the amendments of the Independents in their reasons. This held us about an hour, and some debate: which when we had finished, we fell upon a report brought in concerning holy places and holy days.

1 *Prop.* "All holiness of place ceasing under the gospel, no one place is now holier than another."

This proposition cost some debate: for relative holiness now remaining, it was not thought good by some: some thought it too much to cry down all holiness in place for fear of offence; in regard the separatists do vilify them so much already. Mr. *Herle* thought it not absolutely true, that there is no holiness now in places; for that our churches are holy occasionally or relatively.

Mr. *Palmer* argued, that though there is not any place holy by typical relation, nor by divine apparition,—yet, since the synagogues are called "the houses of God," because they were separate from mundane affairs, devoted only to God, he desired to know what difference in this point there was now with our own churches.

Mr. *Rutherford* answered him: and here was beginning a long debate; but it was cut off by us as to spare time: yet could we not hold off it, but fell on it again; but fell off again ere long, and found words that served the turn without controversy, thus:—"No designation of any place to public worship doth make the worship more acceptable,—so neither doth any superstitions of consecration, nor any other abuse, now laid aside, so pollute them, but that they are still fit for the public worship."

Wednesday, Dec. 11.]—Our first work this morning was, about some ministers, whose names Mr. *Ley* reported.

Then fell we upon our work: which was, first, to vote that we advise that churches be used for public worship, though they have been abused to superstition.

Next did we fall upon the debate about holy days; and had some debate about one proposition concerning the Sabbath,—when Dr. *Temple* reported concerning the visitation of the sick. Which when it was read, it was voted to be first debated before any thing else; and so we fell upon it, and finished it.

Thursday, Dec. 12.]—Our work this morning was, that the reasons of the Independents against our proposition for subordination of assemblies; against the example of the church of Ephesus being many congregations under one presbyterian government; and against ordination not to be sole and entire in a particular congregation, should be read. This held us some two hours reading: which when it was done, our committee, which was appointed to answer the other reasons, was appointed also to answer these.

Which when it was done, Mr. *Seaman* moved, that we should put in something in our Directory for burial, for notice to be given to the congregation instantly, upon the death of any one, of his death, that, as much as may be, private murders may be prevented.—This cost some debate; and at last, by vote, determined not to meddle with it.

Before we rose, an order came from the House of Commons by Mr. *Rows*, to desire the Assembly to take care that our Directory be turned into the Welsh tongue.

Friday, Dec. 13.]—The first thing done to-day, after Mr. *Ley* had read the names of some ministers that he had examined, Dr. *Burgess* read the Directory for burial, as now drawn up to be sent up to the Houses.

Then did Mr. *Byfield* publish their names that are to pray with the two Houses and committee for both kingdoms. We had some debate about some expressions in the Directory: among other things it ran thus,—"Kneeling and praying besides and before the dead, and other usages, are superstitious." Here I excepted at the phrase "such usages," as taxing entertainment of friends: whereupon the word "such" was put in, and read thus, "and other such usages." When this was finished, and ordered to be sent up.

Then Dr. *Stanton* reported a Directory for singing of psalms.

Dr. *Temple* also reported a Directory for churching of women.

Mr. *Palmer* also reported a Directory concerning fasting-days, exceeding long and full, on controvertible matters. Whereupon Mr. *Marshal* moved, that it might be again recommitted; and so it was.

Then did we fall upon debating our Directory for thanksgiving for women's deliverance: and, in fine, by a vote, it was waved.

Monday, Dec. 16.]—This day was I at Munden.

Tuesday, Dec. 17.]—The first thing done to-day was, that an order was read, made by both Houses, that made Sir *William Marsom* a member of our Assembly, instead of Sir *Thos. Barrington,* deceased.

Then was read over our answer to the Independents' reasons; which held us all the day, till two o'clock. Mr. *Marshal* began, and read the answer to their argument against our proposition. Then did Mr. *Tuckney* read our answer to their opposal of our argument of more congregations at Jerusalem than one, from the multitude of believers and teachers. Next did I read our answer to their opposal of our argument from diversity of languages; for this being my argument offered in the Assembly, I was put to make an answer to them. Then did Mr. *Newcomen* read our answer to their opposal to this clause,—"were under one presbyterian government."

Thursday, Dec. 19.]—This morning we fell upon the Directory for singing of psalms; and, in a short time, we finished it.

Then was I called on to make a report of that answer that I had drawn up to the Independents' reasons; which I did.

Then was there a motion made, and order accordingly, that some of our members should be sent to the Houses, to desire them to give an order, that the next fast-day might be solemnly kept, because the people will be ready to neglect it, being Christmas-day.

Then was our Directory for singing psalms read over to the Scots' commissioners, who were absent at the passing of it; and Mr. *Henderson* disliked our permission of any to read the psalms line by line: and this business held us some debate: which ended in this,—that the Scots were desired to draw up something to this purpose.

Then fell we upon the Directory for public fasting.

And the first business that stopped us, and cost us some debate, was, that the committee had brought in, that a fast should be kept twenty-four hours.

Tuesday, Dec. 31.]—The fast-week kept me at Munden. This day our work was about church censure.

LETTERS

TO AND FROM

DR. LIGHTFOOT.

The following letters have been copied from the Lansdown MSS. No. 1055, *preserved in the British Museum. If a letter be derived from any other source, intimation of it is given in the opening of the letter.*

LETTERS

TO AND FROM

DR. LIGHTFOOT.

LETTER I.

Sir Rowland Cotton to Dr. Lightfoot.*

MR. LIGHTFOOT,

I HAVE by *Baddeley* received your book. You know what Martial says of his; "Si totidem bona, quotidem mala," &c. that the book is good. I have read yours over: there are many varieties; nothing so vulgar that you need fear your book's endangerment, unless it pass into the hands of an envious and stupid dunce. You have passed by your payment beforehand, to prevent any retribution; for he will ever be found worthy any favours, that is found thankful for the least; and such is your recognition and retribution, that it doth more than cancel any obligation you stood bound in to me. But it is like I have also a vanity: you shall find I will ever cherish and tender an ingenious person. I joy much in your proficiency, and I hope you will prosper; and doubt not but God will pay you your wages in due time. Thus tired with scribbling, so unserviceable my hand is become. My wife's salutation to your wife and self, and blessing to her god-daughter remembered, mine included. I rest your very loving friend,

R. COTTON.

Bellaport, Nov. 26, 1629.

* An account of Sir *Rowland Cotton* may be found at p. 46, vol. i.

LETTER II.

Bishop Walton to Dr. Lightfoot.*

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter, for which, with your good acceptance of that motion which I made in my former one, I return you many thanks; and though you seem to doubt in the employment at a sense of inability, yet give me leave to impute that to your modesty, rather than to any want of abilities, of which you have given so sufficient and public testimony to the world, that it should be accounted a great obligation, if you shall please to contribute your assistance about the Samaritan version, or to say what you advise about any other part of that work. The Samaritan copy which we follow, is that of the Paris Bible; and though we have divers MSS. of the Samaritan text which are made use of, yet I cannot yet light on any other Samaritan version. I believe you may find instances in them which may be liable to question, and so does Mr. *Castell* in his copies; but our resolution is to vary as little as may be from the printed copies, unless in palpable typographical errors (of which there are great store in all the language of the Paris Bibles): and as for other things, to take notice of them and to give account thereof after all. Nor can I excuse our correctors from some slips in the printed sheets; of which being advised, I hope they will be more vigilant for the future; surely one of those is mentioned in your letter, where pag. 5, line 8, is set before which should be otherwise: the other is frequent in your copy, ver. which is read as well as . If you cannot conveniently procure a Paris copy, rather than fail I would send some part of the Pentateuch of the Paris Bible, which you shall desire, either Exodus, or Leviticus, or Numbers (for Mr. *Castell* hath gone over most of Genesis already), which may be returned back before your workmen shall have occasion to use it. The subscriptions you mention, if you please to hasten them, shall

* Brian Walton, born 1600; completed his degrees in arts, at Cambridge, 1623; took his doctor's degree 1639; published the Polyglott, in 1657; died, Nov. 1661, soon after his having been consecrated to the see of Chester.

be the more acceptable; for though there be no present want of money (the most having already paid the first part): yet when there shall be enough paid in, there will be some need of admitting more, when the number of copies cannot be increased.

If you please, at leisure, to let me hear farther from you, you shall farther oblige him, who is

Your assured friend

and servant,

Jan. 2, 165$\frac{3}{4}$.

BR. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, at Much-Munden, in Hertfordshire.

LETTER III.

From the same.

SIR,

I SENT you, according to your directions, twenty-four sheets of the Bible, together with part of the Paris Bible, viz. the two last books of the Pentateuch, which I hope came safe to your hands. I have now sent eighteen sheets more, which with the other matter is an alphabet; and as the rest are printed, I shall be bold to trouble you with them. I hope we shall finish Genesis the next week; and if the workmen will be diligent, I doubt not but the Pentateuch may be finished about Michaelmas. I desired you to enquire when you were in London, of that Syriac copy which you spake of: if you have known any thing more of it, I pray give me notice. If you find any thing in these sheets which you mislike, I shall entreat you freely to communicate it. Mr. *Castell* presents his best respects to you; so doth

Your obliged friend,

Feb. 23, 1653.

BRIAN WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER IV.

From the same.

Sir,

I should not so long have deferred to have written to you, but that in your last you intimated, that you expected no answer from me concerning the particulars in your letter, for that you hoped before this time to be here at London: but not knowing how your occasions might hinder your coming here, I thought fit to send you another alphabet of the Bible, which you shall however review, and withal to desire that you would send up as soon as you can, the book of Numbers, with your notes thereupon, or so far as you have gone, because Mr. *Castell* will shortly read it; for the workmen will this week be out of Exodus, and Leviticus will hardly hold them a month. And Mr. *Castell* would gladly have yours returned sometime before they begin in Numbers. They print near seven sheets a week: and I hope the whole Pentateuch will be finished about Bartholomew-tide. Your pains and method I do much approve, and heartily thank you for. As for *Morinus's* translation, we alter little except typographic faults, or where there is some omission or palpable mistake, as somewhere we find; but where his translation is not exact, as in many places it is not, we take notice of it, and reform it among other things at the end of all. Those differences of Samaritan version which are material, we notice, and no others, except in proper names, which differ much, though not much materially. The typographic errors which you find in the Samaritan text or version, or Latin translation, may be noted either by themselves or in the Paris copy; for this Paris copy cannot be preserved, but is utterly spoiled by the compositors before they have done with it. I have advised with Mr. *Castell* and others about your manner of translating רוח Gen. i. 2, which is rendered 'spiritus' in this place, not only by the Syriac, Arabic, and Onkelos, but also by the Hierosol. Targum, and so we conceive it ought to be; yet your observation from Jonathan and Deut. xxxiii. 16, deserves to be considered, and thereupon may be put, amongst

many others of that nature, in the appendix. Mr. *Castell* remembers his service to you; so doth

Your obliged friend,

April 24, 1654.

B. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER V.

From the same.

SIR,

I HOPE you will excuse my not returning answer to your last, which I deferred till I could send another alphabet; which I have now sent, referring the continuance of that course you have already happily begun. You have much obliged us by your pains, as in the rest, so especially about the Samaritan, wherein your discretion and judgment have been so exact, that there will be little cause to alter any thing, much less to censure or correct. Your comparing Greek, Hebrew, and Samaritan will be very useful, for intent to print them either in the last volume, or so that they may be bound up with this, among other things pertaining to the Pentateuch. I shall entreat you to send, about three weeks hence, Deuteronomy, or so much of it as you have gone over; for although it will be about five weeks hence before we shall enter upon it, yet it will be needful to have it here some days before we begin. Thus, with humble and hearty thanks from Mr. *Castell* and myself,

Sir,

I rest your much obliged

Friend and servant,

June 14, 1654.

BR. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER VI.

From the same.

SIR,

ABOUT three weeks ago, I sent you a third alphabet of the Bible: and desired that about this time you would send up either the whole book of Deuteronomy, or at least so much as you have had leisure to peruse. Now in regard the workmen tell me that they shall enter Deuteronomy the next week, I shall desire that you would send it up by the carrier, who, as I learn, will be near to you Thursday next, that the press may not stand still. Your notes about the Samaritan, for which I return you many thanks, are such, that there is little cause to alter any thing, as will appear by the printed sheets which I shall send you when the next alphabet is finished. These, with best respects, I rest,

Your friend and servant,

to his power,

July 6, 1654.

B. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER VII.

From the same.

SIR,

ABOUT three weeks ago, I sent you the fourth alphabet, which I hope is come into your hands. I have now sent the last of this volume, which, by God's blessing, is now finished, saving the prefaces and prolegomenas, wherein account is to be taken of all the particulars which occur in the whole work, and therefore cannot be inserted till all be done; yet the several subscribers may take their copies sewed together (though not bound up), whereby they may use them in their private studies. I shall request the continuance of your pains in perusing this alphabet, as you have done the former, in noticing the chief erratas, which I shall desire you to send at your own best time, with the differences you

have observed between the Samaritan and the Hebrew. The next volume I hope will be done in some less time than this; and your good affection and zeal to the work will excuse this trouble from

Your obliged friend and servant,

1654, as it seems the latter end of the year.

B. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER VIII.

From the same.

SIR,

I SENT you about two months ago the first alphabet, with a letter, which was directed to Munden, which I hope is come to your hands. I have sent now a second alphabet; which I have sent to Cambridge, understanding you are constantly there, in regard of your public employment. My request is as before, that if you have any spare hours, you would please to look over these sheets, as you have done the former. Mr. *Castell* told me of your intention to draw up something about the Samaritan version, to be published with the rest; which I am glad you have taken into your thoughts. In the mean time, I should be glad when you think it convenient to send your differences of the Samaritan from the Hebrew, which I would compare with the Lord Primate's, taken long since by another copy. I will not further trespass upon your greater employments, but rather wait, and rest

Your affectionate friend,

to serve you in what I may,

Jan. 24, 1654.

BR. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Master of Catharine-Hall.

LETTER IX.

From the same.

WORTHY SIR,

I RECEIVED your last with the papers enclosed, about the Samaritan text, and the typographic errors of the Hebrew, for which I give you hearty thanks. I am glad there are no more faults in the Hebrew, some of which I perceive are in *Buxtorf*. About a fortnight hence I hope to send you another alphabet, desiring the continuance of your pains in observing the erratas of the Hebrew, as your occasions will permit. There are some books in the public library which would be useful to us, wherein we shall request your assistance, that they may be lent upon such assurance for their safe return as you shall think fit; viz. a Syriac MS. of the prophets: the Constantinopolitan Bible, and a MS. Syriac lexicon, which Mr. *Wheelock* had with him here when he died. I doubt not but Dr. *Tuckney* and the rest of the Heads will be willing to gratify us in this, if you please to propound it. Mr. *Worthington* of Jesus College promised to speak to you about it. We have divers MSS. and other books of great worth, both from the King's library, and from Oxford, and others; some upon bond, some upon a promise under our hands to return them safely; and I hope we may in this manner obtain others; of which not doubting by your means, with my best respects, I take leave, and rest

Your obliged friend and servant,

April, 27, 1655.

BRIAN WALTON.

I have also received your money, which was laid out for binding the two Pentateuchs.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and Master of Catharine-Hall.

LETTER X.

From the same.

SIR,

I HAVE herewith sent you Mr. *Humble's* receipt for the four pounds, which you sent for two subscribers: the two volumes shall be bound up, and sent according to your direction. I sent you not long since the first alphabet of the third volume, requesting your pains in observing the errata, as in the other. I am sorry there is so much scruple made about the lending of those books, which I was made believe might have been had upon easier terms, seeing we have many other books of far greater value, upon a promise under some of our hands; which if I had known before, I would not at all have moved to have had them. I do verily believe you were not wanting in your best endeavours, and do heartily thank you for your real affections; but I believe there are some others that do not wish well either to us, or to our work, who have made these demands. To give a thousand-pound bond for books, which, if they were to be sold, are not worth twenty pounds, is by some thought to be devised by them, that would not have the books lent. The best is, we have no great need of them, for I have got a Constantinopolitan Bible; and for Syriac copies, I believe we have far better than any in the library: yet your comparing of divers copies together may be useful. And therefore, if I may have *Bahlul* upon my own bond, as Mr. *Wheelock* had (for none else will be engaged in bond), I shall be willing to give it, if you please to direct to whom it shall be made, and the form of the condition, and to whom it may be delivered here for your use.

If this will not be accepted, we must and shall, God willing, go on without it, as we have done hitherto. So with my best respects to yourself, I rest

Your assured friend and servant,

Sep. 20, 1655.

BR. WALTON.

We have printed Job and the Psalms, and are now upon Proverbs.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and Master of Catharine-Hall.

LETTER XI.

From the same.

SIR,

I HAVE sent enclosed a bond of five hundred pounds for the security of the MS. you are pleased to lend. I shall request it may be delivered to Mr. *Smith,* whom I have entreated to take special care in the sending of it. The first alphabet of this third tome was sent about two months ago. I have sent to the carrier, who acknowledges the receipt of it, and finds it entered in his book: one *Horton,* who keeps the warehouse here, received it, and has sent to Cambridge about it. I hope within a week or two we shall have some account of it; if not, I will send another for your use, together with a second alphabet, which is now finished, and will be ready to send by that time. Those two books which you sent about, are bound up, and sent according to your direction: what Mr. *Clarke* has laid out about them, you may see by his note enclosed. So with my best respects and thanks, I rest

Your assured friend and servant,

Oct 3, 1655.

BRIAN WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Master of Catharine-Hall.

LETTER XII.

From the same.

SIR,

I HAVE received the Syriac Lexicon, for which I give you many thanks. I hope it may be useful to us. We are now entered upon the prophets, and should be glad if you would accommodate us with the Syriac copy of the prophets in the public library, for which Mr. *Castell* will join with me in bond in what sum you shall appoint. If you please to let me know what bond you desire, it shall be forthwith sent. The other two books, we shall not, I think, need; for we have

a Constantinopolitan Bible, and I have got that Greek MS. transcribed. I am glad to hear you have received the last alphabet: if *Hart* have lost the other, he must answer for it, and I shall send another. They were both superscribed, and directed to you, though I sent no letter, through want of time; but hereafter I shall write. I understand by Mr. I. G., that you find in your reading, many places to be mistook in the ordinary maps of Judea. If you please to help us with any thing in that kind, it shall be gratefully accepted. In the mean time, I rest

Your assured friend and servant,

Oct. 23, 1655.

B. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, &c.

LETTER XIII.

From the same.

SIR,

I HAVE received the Syriac MS. of the prophets, which I believe is the same with my Lord Primate's and Mr. *Pocock's* copies, which we have already: yet by collating all together I hope it may be of good use; and therefore, with my hearty thanks for this and all other favours, I rest, in haste,

Your obliged servant,

Nov. 7, 1655.

BR. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, Master of Catharine-Hall in Cambridge.

LETTER XIV.

From the same.

SIR,

I WROTE to you last week, that I have received the Syriac MS., of which I shall be careful. It appears, so far as we have yet compared it, to be the very same with the Pri-

mate's and Mr. *Pocock's* copy. I have sent now a short alphabet, containing part of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. A new alphabet is begun when we entered upon Isaiah; of which above half is printed, which about a fortnight hence I hope will be ready. I shall request your pains in revising these, as you did the former: wherein you shall further oblige

Your most humble servant,

Nov. 14, 1655.

Br. Walton.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER XV.

From the same.

Sir,

I have received your last, and therewith your collations of the Hebrew with *Buxtorf*, for which I must still acknowledge myself further in your debt. I am glad you find it so exactly printed: and as for the Ketibs which you find often wanting in ours, but expressed in *Buxtorf*, if you please to look upon the interlineary Bible, which copy we propounded to follow, it will appear that we do exactly agree therewith.

I have looked over divers of the places, and find no Ketib there, and I suppose the rest are so; for the Keri and Ketib, in the several editions, do much differ;—some have observed divers hundreds more in some than in others. But we intend, God willing, in the last part, amongst the other different readings of the other languages, to bring all those of the Hebrew, and of the several editions thereof, which I did not put in the margent, being so narrow; as also because it was thought best to bring them in amongst other things of the like nature. If you please to go on in like manner as you have done, your pains shall be very acceptable. For the chorography you mention, we wished only a map—no other description. Your observations of the places out of the Rabbins may be of very good use, if you please to communicate them, whereby the errors of the vulgar descriptions

may be corrected. We are now about the midst of the smaller prophets, and I hope shall have finished the volume about a fortnight hence.

Mr. *Clarke,* who remembers his services, desires your judgment upon a place (which he has put here inclosed, and desires your speedy answer). With my best respects,

I rest your obliged
friend and servant,

April 14, 1656.

BR. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, Master of Catharine-Hall in Cambridge.

LETTER XVI.

From the same.

SIR,

I HAVE herewith sent the last alphabet of this third volume, which will make your copy complete. I wrote to you about a fortnight ago, wherein I signified that I had received your letter, with the papers enclosed. This I hope came to your hands, though I heard that you were here in London, before mine was sent away. I also therein gave you the reason of the difference of the Keri and Ketib, in our edition, from that of *Buxtorf,* because we followed the interlineary copy; and because the number of those various readings differ in sundry editions of the Hebrew Bibles. We intend to compare the chief editions, and to note the differences and print them all together in the last volume, where they be more fitly placed among those of the other languages, than in our margent, which is scanty enough. Mr. *Clarke* desired your judgment in a paper which was enclosed in mine, which he still desires, if your leisure will permit. With my best respects and thanks for your pains, I rest

Your affectionate friend
and servant,

May 6, 1656.

BR. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, Master of Catharine-Hall, Cambridge.

LETTER XVII.

From the same.

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of July 15, and the money for the two third volumes; which I have sent to the Rose and Crown, according to your direction, bound up as the former. I sent the last alphabet to you at Cambridge, with a letter, in May last, which, I presume, are not yet come to your hands. I have sent to the carrier, to whom they were delivered, but have no answer as yet. I shall entreat you likewise to appoint some to enquire after them at Cambridge, for they are in the carrier's hands.

Sir, I thank you for your assistance in rectifying the errors of our common maps: some do recommend *Speed's* Map of the Land of Canaan, because there the longitude and latitude of all the places, and the distances by English miles, are alphabetically placed on the backside; only the English names must be altered: but if you please to confer your observations with the map in *Tyrinus's* Bible, which we may happily make use of, and, in some few lines, to note the quotations out of the Talmud or others, whom you may make use of, to shew by what authority any alteration is made, it will be sufficient.

As for the chronology, it is, I confess, a very nice thing; wherein the more I read, I am the lesser satisfied, especially about the chronology of the first times, wherein many, I fear, have wearied themselves to little purpose. When any thing shall be resolved upon and prepared, it shall be sent to you; and what you shall please to communicate or correct, shall be thankfully accepted by

Your most affectionate servant,

July 23, 1656.

BR. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER XVIII.

From the same.

SIR,

I HAVE sent you the three last alphabets of the New Testament; the rest have been sent formerly. We are now upon the Apocrypha, and the three Targums of the Pentateuch: some part of the Apparatus is also finished. It is long since I received any letters from you; but in your last you intimated some observations of your own about the Chorography of the land of Canaan, correcting some errors in the vulgar maps. I desired you to peruse the map in *Tyrinus's* Bible, as one of the last, and to apply them to his description. I know that *Adrichomius* is counted by divers, especially by *Bonfrerius*, as appears in his notes and maps at the end of his comments on Joshua; but whether more may not be added to *Bonfrerius*, I doubt. I shall request your observations as soon as you can; for I do now employ an engraver about divers cuts, and would set him forthwith upon this map, if I had it ready.—So, with my best respects,

I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Feb. 10, 165$\frac{6}{7}$.

BRIAN WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, Master of Catharine-Hall, in Cambridge;—at Much-Munden.

LETTER XIX.

From the same.

SIR,

I HAVE received by the carrier 4*l.* 11*s.*, of which I have given him my receipt; and I shall send Mr. *Humble's* receipt with the books as soon as they are bound. I received also, some weeks ago, your observations upon *Tyrinus's* Maps, with the erratas in the Hebrew text, for which I

give you many thanks, and should before now have signified the receipt, but that I forebore till I should have some other opportunity of writing. I thought before now to have sent you another alphabet, but that we print several things at the same time; the Apocrypha by one press, and the Targums by another, with some various readings printed by a third. I hope we may conclude all about the end of this summer.

I rest

Your affectionate friend and servant,

April 28th, 1657.

B. WALTON.

For my reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER XX.

From the same.

SIR,

I HAVE sent you another volume of the Bible, containing the Apocrypha and the three Targums. I forbear to send the several alphabets, because they were many and not full, and therefore I choose to send now altogether. The last volume is near half done; and I hope about Christmas all may be finished. I have sent back your observations upon *Tyrinus's* Map, which I could not put into the map, the engraver having begun his work before I brought them to him, who was unwilling to alter any thing which was done; and therefore I resolved rather to print them by themselves, and to submit all to the reader's judgment. To this end, if you approve thereof, I shall entreat you to put them into Latin, and to send them back as soon as you can: the like course I intend with *Bonfrerius's* observations upon *Adrichomius's* Maps. I remember sure you told me of a place out of the Jerusalem Talmud (which book I want) mentioning different copies of the Bible which the LXX. sent to Jerusalem about, to consult them when they were at Alexandria. Let me entreat you to send me the words with your Latin translation,

and the place where it is. Thus entreating your excuse for his trouble,

I rest

Your servant in what I may,

October 26, 1657.

BRIAN WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER XXI.

From the same.

SIR,

I HAVE received your notes out of the Jerusalem Talmud, for which I give you thanks. Those short notes you have about the map, if you please to put them into Latin, or to send some short extract, not exceeding a sheet of paper, out of your larger notes, it may be useful to print with the map; for your larger observations of a quire of paper, will, I doubt, rise to a greater bulk than we can well admit, having so many things to bring into this last volume. For there are many things added to it, more than were at first proposed, which the generality of subscribers desired to be added, and for which an additional advance of twenty-shillings a copy is desired; and by all that I hear of, assented to. I have sent a copy of the printed paper enclosed, which I forgot in my last, entreating you to communicate the same to those two subscribers, whose copies you take care of. In your next I pray you let me know to what time your Jerusalem Talmud refers the approving or rejecting those copies, whether to *Esdras*, and the Great Synagogue (who compared different copies, in their recognizing the Bible after their return from Babylon, of which I know there are divers testimonies in the Talmud), or to some other time after the LXX. Mr. *Castell* and Mr. *Clarke* remember their service to you. With my best respects,

I rest your obliged servant,

Nov. 4, 1657.

BR. WALTON.

For his reverend friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER XXII.

From the same.

SIR,

I RECEIVED the last week forty shillings for the two subscribers, and eleven shillings for the binding and collating. I have now sent you the two volumes. Mr. *Humble's* receipts I have not yet, but shall send them with your next; two other receipts which have lain by me a long time, I have sent; though I think there is no great necessity of sending any, when the books are delivered. I received formerly your observations about the land of Canaan, for which I return you thanks; they are now printed with the rest. The chronology we have printed, is but taken out of Capellus, who offered it freely, with his description of both the Temples, two large tracts. That which he had formerly in print in his history of the Acts, is not that which we follow; wherein what he has, is proved out of the words of Josephus and the Talmud, &c., with what was formerly observed by l'Empereur. I hope about a week hence you shall shortly see them, with all the rest fully finished. All had been ended before now, but that the workmen protract and prolong all what they can; many subscribers also are in arrears; and this frosty weather is some hindrance.

When all is finished, I shall send what you want. With my due respects and hearty thanks for your assistance and furtherance,

I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

London, Feb. 2, 1657.

BR. WALTON.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER XXIII.

Dr. W. Outram to Dr. Lightfoot.*

MUCH HONOURED SIR,

HAD not our Master sent something unexpectedly for me betimes on the Monday morning after you preached here, I had (according to my full resolution) waited on you in person, to have presented my most real and hearty thanks for those choice and truly learned observations of yours, in relation to the Lord's Prayer; as likewise to have offered a further request now, that you would please to grant me your notes of your sermons on baptism, which I have most earnestly longed for, ever since they were preached; and not without due cause; for verily, had I not heard you, I should not to this day have been so well reconciled to infant baptism as (I bless God) I now am. I desire, however, that you would be pleased to consider what real information your notes may be of, and how, for my own part, I am infinitely more persuaded by your way of probation, than by some other ratiocinations that men ordinarily use; and if you please to let Mr. *Sclater* hear from you for me, I assure you, Sir, you will exceedingly far engage

Your already much obliged servant,

WILLIAM OUTRAM.

Cambridge, May 1, 1657.

For the worshipful Dr. Lightfoot, at Great-Munden.

* Dr. *Outram*, was born in Derbyshire in 1625. He became fellow of Trinity-College, and afterwards of Christ's-College, Cambridge, where he took his doctor's degree, in 1660. After holding the living of St. Mary Woolnoth, he obtained the archdeaconry of Leicester, and a prebend of Westminster, which he held with the rectory of St. Margaret. He died in 1679. Dr. *Outram* was the author of an excellent work "De Sacrificiis;" and after his death was published a volume of his sermons.

LETTER XXIV.

Dr. E. Castell to Dr. Lightfoot.*

Reverend and ever honoured Sir,

I THIS day received by your nephew your very kind letter, full stored with encouraging expressions to a much-dejected spirit; together with 4*l.* for one copy of the Heptaglot Lexicon, and 2*s.* for the stitching it up. Truly, Sir, I am even heartily ashamed I did not prevent you with the free tender of it, which was really in my thoughts to have done, had I not been traversed with so many sad disasters. Two partners I had at the first, to share with me in the charge and labour of that I am yet upon, who were both taken off by other offers. After them the printer for some years was joined with me, who knew divers ways how to lessen the expense. But at length, seeing no hopes at all of any gain, he likewise, after no small trouble and loss of time, renounced his partnership. Another able person, that fully promised me his assistance in the same way, was discapacitated by an extraordinary loss that befel him. Thus destitute and forsaken I am by all; though called to this unhappy destructive undertaking by letters and promises from the very highest persons both in church and commonwealth; to what little effect I am afraid to write. May I only add this without offence? a debt of near 1000*l.* I have already contracted, upon the account of this work; for which also I have now lately sold an estate in land, to the value of above 100*l.* per annum, which will be all, and more than that comes to, exhausted by this consumptive undertaking. Sir, it was this insupportable burden, under which I yet sadly groan, that pressed down my willing hand, ready to have reached forth itself in an humble proffer to you, whose worth and works, so transcendant to the vulgar

* *Edmund Castell*, was born at Hatley, in Cambridgeshire, in 1606. He was educated at Emmanuel-College, Cambridge, from whence he removed to St. John's-College, where he proceeded regularly to his doctor's degree. While at the university he laboured in compiling his Lexicon Heptaglotton. In 1666 he was appointed chaplain to the King, and Arabic Professor at Cambridge, to which were added a prebend of Canterbury, the little vicarage of Hatfield Peverell, in Essex, and the rectory of Wodeham Walter, in the same county. His last preferment was Higham Gobion, in Bedfordshire, where he died in 1685. He assisted Dr. *Walton* in his Polyglot Bible, to which his own lexicon is usually appended.

way of writing, all the learned world doth and ought highly to esteem; and in this work now upon me, I have and shall (as does become me) sundry times with honour mentioned, by whom and which, I must confess, I have profited not a little. And if it shall please God to prolong my days, any time after this sore labour finished, it will be, next to heaven, a very grand happiness to me here, the *voisinage* of your Munden to my Higham, whereby we may have the intercourse of some good society.

Sir, I crave your acceptance of a small present put up in your bundle, an Ethiopic Lexicon, Confession, and Corollary to their Liturgy, which I was at the charge to print, being sent me by the author; which, with my humble service to you, and hearty prayers for your continued and encreased welfare and prosperity, that you may live long to build and bless the church of God with your excellent and most learned labours, shall conclude me alway,

Sir,

Your very real and redevable servant,

22 Feb., 166$\frac{3}{4}$.

EDMUND CASTELL.

I am now upon my remove to Sion College, where I hope to be fully settled within a week or two.

This for the reverend and most worthily honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, Master of Catharine-Hall, and Rector of Much-Munden, in Hertfordshire.—[*Present with a bundle.*]

LETTER XXV.

From the same.

Reverend and ever right dearly honoured Sir,

YOUR most affectionate and friendly letter I could not read, without a sympathy suitable to what I there found, eyes impregnant with tears; that in these three kingdoms there should be one found (בלא אח for such a second has never yet appeared to me) who has manifested such a senti-

ment of my ruined and undone condition. I must only except my honourable and most singular good lord the Bishop of *Exon*, who (considering the smallness of his diocese) has done very strange and incredible things in procuring me about four-score subscribers, since the printing of the last papers, which is above three-score more than all the three kingdoms besides have done.

Sir, I doubly thank you for obtaining me Sir *Thomas Brograve's* subscription, the great eminency and *voisinage* of so noble a person to your Munden and my Higham, signified by your letter, besides the benefit that accrues by the addition of his noble and worthy name. Would there come in but a sufficient number of subscribers, after the exhausture of above 100*l.* lands per annum, sold to carry on this work, to pay my debts, and perfectly to accomplish the same, it would be a great joy and satisfaction to me.

Sir, I have sent the volume according to your direction, craving the continuance of your prayers (wherein to my power I * reciprocate), I take my leave in the quality of,

Sir,

Your very redevable and
really devoted servant,

14 March, 166$\frac{3}{4}$.

E. Castell.

This for the reverend and my ever most dearly honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, at Much-Munden, in Hertfordshire.—

LETTER XXVI.

From the same.

Right dearly and ever most deservedly honoured Sir,

Your approbation only of what we presumed to communicate to you, was the highest pitch our ambition durst aspire unto; but, Sir, you have given both us and it your applause;—a sufficient salve against all the fastenings and morsures of those Theonine teeth we must expect:—and this you have done with such ample abounding encomiums, as

* Present with a book.

not to acknowledge your singular respect and favour to us in them, would be the worst of ingratitude; so to believe any such merit in ourselves, would be as inexcusable and unpardonable arrogance. The truth is, Sir, your own unmatched worth is the only subject, unto which they are competible; nor is there any such way for us to reach forth ourselves towards the least measure of those deservings, and to aboone and validate those amicable, animating expressions of your pen, than by proposing to ourselves the imitation of such an unattainable exemplar. And truly, had we not such an oracle to consult with, bootless and in vain it would be to attempt such an undertaking. We have all here just cause to break out into a serious admiration of that Divine goodness, which as it disposes all things most wisely for the order and measure, so likewise for the time in doing them. "O nos felices ter et amplius! quibus contigit, te vivo, opus hoc tam grande quam arduum auspicato suscepisse; et benedictus ob hoc semper sit Summus ille rerum arbiter."

We have, most worthy Sir, since my last to you, by some great masters of words and languages, been induced to make some alteration in our first intendments, having persuaded us to take into ours all the Arabic words in *Golius's* Lexicon; without which (they conceived) it would not be perfectly useful for that tongue, amongst all the oriental the most copious and principal, and for assoiling the difficulties in the Hebrew, confessedly, by the grandest rabbies, of most avail. The doing this arising to a very great augmentation of sheets, far above what we proposed or promised, forced thereupon we were to enhance the price from forty to fifty shillings, but at two several payments, as in the enclosed paper you will find; which to as many as we have yet imparted it, gives a a very good resentment: we trust it will likewise do so to you; else for my part, I shall really wish not done our change. But if what you read please, suffer us then, I beseech you, to request this favour at your hands, that both in your college, to the fellows and students there, so far as you shall judge it convenient, and elsewhere, within the line of your interest, not of small extent (as, by the means and letter of Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. Vice-Chancellor of Oxford hath done it in that university), you will be pleased to honour and encourage our labours, and alleviate by subscriptions that great and vast charge we must necessarily undergo, in promoving what in

you lieth, both among the learned nation, and the favourers of it, this engaged work of ours, by your favourable recommendation of it,—no otherwise than as your own judgment shall suggest to you the usefulness of it is like to prove, not for the biblical versions only, but for all other authors in any of the seven languages, in which many hundreds (I may say more, some thousands) of words, never yet extant in any printed lexicon, will be found, many with reference both to the authors and places in them. It is not indeed for a letter, but a large preface, to lay this forth duly in all the particulars of it. By what you shall do herein, my hope is, you will report unto yourself thankfulness universally from all hands, the moved, as well as those for whom you move; us all I am sure who shall travail and take pains in this achievement, you will most deeply oblige; above all, as by many names and respects I am already bound to acknowledge myself to be ever,

Sir,

The most religious honourer of your eminent worth and rare abilities, and your truest servant unto his best power,

Ed. Castell.

Sir,—For the keeping these presses (used about the Bible) in still further employment, besides this designed Lexicon, sundry other pieces homogeneous to this biblical work, have been by several hands recommended to us: a MS. of Buxtorf, the elder's own writing, concerning the various readings of the Chaldee Paraphrasts, sent us somewhile since by his son: A Christian Arabic Pentateuch, in Oxford library (whereas those yet extant have been done only by Jews or Mahometans, or, as some will, Samaritans); with a large preface concerning Origen's Hexapla, &c: an excellent MS. of the Psalms in Arabic, different from any yet printed, and nearer the Hebrew: an Arabic MS. of the Prophets, out of which divers defects in the Paris edition are supplied in other Bibles by MS. Oxf.: some parts of the Apocrypha in Arabic:—*(be pleased to see the overleaf):* the second Targum of Esther: St. Matthew's Gospel, of the best edition, in Hebrew,

and the Epistle to the Hebrews: the four Gospels in Syriac, of another translation: and the fourth book of Maccabees: all the Scripture Hymns in Ethiopic, of which Mr. *Pocock* hath lent us his MS.: the Persian Psalms: Jerome's Version of the Psalter. Concerning these particulars we humbly crave your judgment and advice: as also if you know of any parts of Scripture which may be had in the Armenian (the four Gospels Dr. *Walton* hath in that language), or in the Ethiopic or Coptic, which by any expedient may be obtained. Sir, pardon, I beseech you, this prolixity, and at your own best leisure vouchsafe us your favourable answer.

To the right worthy and reverend my most honoured friend, Dr. Lightfoot, Master of Catharine-Hall, Cambridge: at his house at Much-Munden in Hertfordshire, this p. E. Gent.

LETTER XXVII.

From the same.

Right excellent and most worthily honoured Sir,

That real sympathy I read in your so favourable and most affectionate lines, and that free and noble bounty I experience in your munificent and generous actions, is no small encouragement to me in my deserted and despised condition; only because this luxuriant age is, and will be, ignorant of this necessary part of theological knowledge. Yet, had I not been called by the highest powers, with promise of assistance and support, to this ruinating and destructive undertaking, there had been less cause of my expecting any thing from them: but instead of being aided by them, to be exprobrated with a scornful "cui bono?"—as if all my twelve years' hard labour was but for the wind,—this is the very worst and bitterest pill to swallow, they could have given me. But the truth is, one Dr. *Lightfoot* is more to me than ten thousand such censors. Besides some few others amongst ourselves, I have a *Golius*, a *Buxtorf*, a *Hottinger*, a *Ludolfo*, &c. in foreign parts; that, both by their letters and in print, have not only sufficiently, but too amply and abundantly for me to communicate, expressed their over-high esteem of

that, which finds but a prophet's reward here in its own country.

Reverend and most noble Sir, you have laid an unutterable obligation upon me by the gift of this learned and much longed-for work you have now published; and very highly honoured me, and enriched my poor library with an addition so excellent and delightful—that truly, when I first received it, I could not contain myself from reading it quite through, notwithstanding the importunacy of my public engagement, and the clamour of all the workmen, correctors, compositors, pressmen, &c. to all whom I turned a deaf ear, till I had satisfied my eye with the entire perusal of it.

This one thing alone troubles me—I have nothing as yet to retaliate; but, Sir, you shall find I will not bury your favour and bounty in the sand. All your extant works I keep continually obversant before my eyes, which will not suffer me to be forgetful of the author. Renowned Sir, I made bold to beautify and embellish this worthless contemned work I am upon, with the oriental lustre of your eminent and deservedly most famigerous name: for which presumption I intended to crave your pardon, and behold! I am prevented, not with your absolution only, but with a grateful acceptance. Sir, I will never be ashamed to confess by whom I have profited. All that would understand that clear light, together with the mysterious hidden use and benefit, which the most ancient records of the Jews bring unto holy writ, must confess themselves, above all others, deeply indebted to your elaborate and incomparable writings, who have fetched more out of these profound and rich mines, than any of the best seers in this or the precedent ages, have been able to discover. There is but one, that famous professor at Basil, venerable Dr. *Buxtorf*, that has done any thing like you, who in almost all his letters to me, fails not to mention your name. His very words in one I received lately, are these :—"Quid D. D. *Lightfootus* agat, scire quoque percupio. Volebam ad ipsum scribere, existimans illum Cantabrigiæ esse, sed audio illum nunc ruri in quodam angulo latere. Ex Horis ejus Talmudicis (T. Cl. ultimas, nuper ad illum ipse misi) incepi illius doctrinam et diligentiam valdè amare. Illæ salivam mihi moverunt, ut propediem ab ipso similia videre desiderem et gustare, precor ipsi om-

nia læta, ac meritis ejus digna. Atque vir præstantissime, si occasio dabitur, mei erga ipsum affectûs eris interpres; multum eum à me salvere jubebis, et valere."

Sir, I cannot shut up my "Vale" to you with a better close. The words in the parenthesis were mine, who sent him this very week your last piece. I crave your prayers and commend you and all yours to the supernal benediction, who am ever,

Sir,

Your very redevable and most Commandable servant,

Sion College, Aug. 16, 1664.

EDWARD CASTELL.

This for the reverend and right worthy, my most worthily honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, rector of Much-Munden in Hertfordshire, and Master of Catharine-Hall in Cambridge, present.

LETTER XXVIII.

From the same.

Reverend and ever dearly honoured Sir,

SINCE my last to you, and the passage I inserted out of one of Professor *Buxtorf's* letters to me, I had brought me the last week the sad tidings of his sudden death, about the beginning of this instant. Some friends and relations of his have not a little importuned me for a few verses in some one or other of our languages. I had an only brother died just at the same time: my great unmerciful work would neither suffer me to be present at his death or burial; and which is much worse, he has devolved a most immense burden of all his debts and encumbrances, very great and intricate, upon me. Yet if possible, I am willing to do something, though far short of the merit of so eminent and illustrious a person; but I durst make no promise of this, in the least measure. Sir, if your occasions would conveniently permit you to pen some few in Hebrew, or Latin, or any other language, it would strongly induce me, in some one that you omit, to add likewise a few of my effete muse, which, to a kindly birth, requires always "secessum scribentis et otia."

To have such a rich cloak to cover my great infirmities, would be a very provoking encouragement.

The Hebrew professor at Leyden went from me for Holland the day before I had this relation brought me, else I should have importuned him earnestly: who probably may do it without my intervention.

Sir, I am sure it will be a very obliging favour to his son, unto whom I sent this week, who at seventeen years of age, was by the magistrates, before his father's death, chosen to succeed him in the Hebrew professorship; as in his other of divinity Dr. *Zuinger* (descended of that famous man of his name) is also elected. Let me crave your pardon, excellent Sir, for this bold interruption, who desire to live no longer, than whilst I shall really manifest myself,

Sir,

The affectionate honourer of your famed worth,
and veriest humble servant,

Sion College, Sept. 22, 1664.

E. CASTELL.

This to the reverend, &c.

LETTER XXIX.

From the same.

Right dear and most entirely honoured Sir,

"ANIMÆ meæ delicium, nec dicenda jucunditas, utinam oculorum etiam." Next to the divine, I meet with no lines like yours, that so sweetly refresh and delight my soul, when quite wearied with labour and unreleased cares, which very scarcely, from any other, find either pity or resentment. At the mere sight of your letter, before ever I can open it, "cor mihi ritè salit"—when I come within to view it, every word I read, seems to me to proceed rather from your breast, than from your brain; such ravishing amenities, and moving affections flow forth continually out of every occurrent expression; by the strength of which comforts it is not to be uttered, how much I am supported under my most oppressive dejections.

Only, Sir, one thing in all your writings I receive, does

really shame me, that you so much extol him, whom others every where avile, and whose own conscience tells him, he is altogether unworthy to bear your books after you. Sure I am, that neither I, nor any of those great professors I am known to, can deservedly magnify the name and memory of the most incomparable Dr. *Lightfoot*, according to his excellent worth, which your many renowned works will abundantly witness unto all succeeding generations. That I may be but looked upon by so eminent a person, much more owned with such unmatched testifications of singular and signal favour, as you are pleased to send me,—is a vouchsafement so transcendent, as I can never sufficiently neither acknowledge, nor apprize.

Truly, Sir, I am even heartily abashed that my rude abortive verses, who was myself born "iratis musis," should appear within the same leaves with the Reverend Dr. *Lightfoot's* most unparalleled heroical strains; for verily, Sir, I speak it in the truth of my heart, I have never yet met with any epicedium in all my life, that hath so pleasingly affected me.

Sir *Thomas Brograve*, your most noble high sheriff, whose height in learning hath justly raised him to the first altitude in the literarian as well as in the civil republic, I beseech you will present my most humble service and thankfulness to him, for his deigning our most excellent professor the felicity of his admirable poetic elegancies, which with yours, the first occasion that shall occur, I will, with all due observance, deliver unto the friends of the deceased.

Sir, though I perish, it comforts me not a little to see how holy writ flourishes. I lately received an Armenian psalter, given me by Professor *Golius*, come newly off the press, where they are printing (at Leyden) the whole Bible in that language. The Old Testament is there printing in the Turkish language, perfected by *Levinus Warnerus:* the New Testament in Turkish, done by Mr. *Seaman*, is just now in the press at Oxford, of which I have some sheets by me; as I have also the old Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels, now printed with a Glossary to them at Leyden. Mr. *Petreus* hath printed some parts of the Old Testament in Ethiopic, and hath many more prepared, both in that and in the Coptic language. The Lithuanian (of which I have good part by me) and the New England Bibles I need not name. I have

a specimen of a Turkish dictionary, printed at Rome, and of a Chaldee dictionary in folio, in the Hebrew language, composed by the learned *Cohen de Lara*, which ὁ μακαρίτης Professor *Buxtorf* much desired he might live to see finished. It is said to be now near its period at the press: as I remember, it is near upon two years since I received the first sheet of it. Sir, I crave your pardon for this tedious prolixity; there is a secret inexpressible joy invades my whole soul, whilst I am thus parleying with you, and endeavouring to approve myself to be in what I am able,

Sir,

Your most real and redevable Servant,

Sion College, Nov. 15, 1664.

EDMUND CASTELL.

This for the reverend and right worthy honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, &c.

LETTER XXX.

From the same.

Reverend and right dearliest honoured Sir,

THE many and great obligations you have from time to time accumulated me with, have raised the engagements of my gratitude to so great a height, that, like the philosopher's "ens rationis," it can have, at least, its best existence in "animo tantum;" and there I am sure it is as great, as that of any man's in the world. But the utmost testifications within the orb of my narrow power, it is not possible they should be any thing at all, in comparison of that debt which your goodness hath made deeply incumbent on me.

Sir, I thank you for the civilities you shewed me when I was last with you, which I then well hoped would not have been the last; but the contagious dismal condition of the season, and some disastrous accidents which befel me, would not suffer me to enjoy the overtures I then proposed of my most hearty and impetuous desires. I hope, if I outlive this work, to me very destructive—leisure and convenience will both be then more propitious to me.

Sir, Mr. *Paget,* one of your fellows, was with me on Monday last, and signified to me your great favour in accommodating me at your lodgings, when I went down to commence the Arabic lecture. I intend upon Saturday next come se'nnight, the 23d instant, to take my journey for it. In regard of the sickness breaking out again in Cambridge, it will double your kindness to me, to have so commodious and secure a place. My purpose is, to go down in the running coach ; else I could not have contained myself from a turn to Munden. Young Professor *Buxtorf,* who has been here this fortnight or more, presents his humble service to you. A lodging is procured him not far from Sion College; the next day he came to town, we were told you also was come hither. Oh, how joyfully did we then both go to enquire for you ! but, after all enquiries, could find no more of truth, but that your son had been in town very lately. He hath a most passionate desire (as I also have) to see you. Had it not been for the encreasing sickness at Cambridge, he would have spent some considerable time there, in hopes to have enjoyed that happiness. He hath the funeral verses and oration made for his father's death, to present you with, which he hath already bestowed on me.

Sir, I much bewail your loss of so dear a part of yourself, as it hath pleased God to deprive you of, since I was with you. But that loss is not more sure to you than the gain to her, and the future advantage to you also, from Him, who has promised all things shall co-operate for the best to His: which I earnestly beg for, with all desirable blessings upon your honoured self, and yours ; who will, in nothing wherein I can be able, be ever wanting upon all occasions most faithfully to approve myself,

Sir,

Your no less real friend, than

Most insolvently redevable servant,

13th June, 1666.

EDM. CASTELL.

Sir, my wife presents her humble service with her thankfulness to you, for your so favourable vouchsafements to me. The enclosed I received yesterday from Dr. *Worthington.*

This for the reverend and right worthy, my ever honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, &c.

LETTER XXXI.

From the same.

Right dearliest honoured Sir,

Those Lebbean lines you have blest me with, so full of heartiest affection, are enough to melt even all mankind into the same temper and disposition. What is denied me to pariat in a ravishing sweetness of style, I will make up to the utmost of my power in the faithfulness and reality of my soul to your service; which though I have never had any occasion at all to manifest hitherto, it shall be my earnest prayer I may have, and (if you will pardon so vulgar an expression, meant with the greatest truth and plainness) the pride and ambition of my heart whenever I can attain it, to perform the same with all possible cheerfulness and alacrity. The extraordinary civilities and concessions I met with in this your last, lay upon me an inexpressible obligation and gratitude.

Sir, I am in a very great dubitation what is fittest for me to do; the measure to steer my cynosure by must be Sir *Thomas Adams,* what he will desire of me. The interest of the university, after above a twelvemonths' delay in this affair, will indubitably require me to speed without any demur the inchoation of the lecture; unto which as I am of myself very propense, so I find some others also forward to add unto the bent of that resolution, which, until it be late this night, cannot have its plenary determination. Sir, I will very speedily communicate to the most ingenuous Professor *Buxtorf* the most signal respects and favour you have testified towards him.

In great haste, with my own and my wife's most humble service and thankfulness presented to your ever honoured self, and to your most worthy sons and daughters, though quite unknown, I commend you all to the multiplied and daily increasing benedictions of the Eternal, in the quality of,

Sir,

Your veriest and wholiest servant,

Sion College, June 22, 1666.

E. Castell.

This for the reverend and right worthiliest honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, &c.

LETTER XXXII.

From the same.

Reverend and ever dearliest honoured Sir,

That my gratitude hath been so slow paced in its return for so noble a favour as the comfortable and convenient accommodation of your lodgings, let there not, I beseech you, be thereupon created any unkind suspect; just as I have been putting pen to paper, I have been sundry times unhappily diverted. Chiefly by this business which occasioned my going to Cambridge, it cannot be imagined how great a trouble it has put me to in running to, and waiting upon so many offices, overburdened with so great a work as daily oppresses me. The King's hand, and Sir *Thomas Adams's* seals to all his writings, were obtained and effected (which was in sum the settlement) before my going down. Since, I had only the broad seal to procure; but with how great difficulty and delayed protractions! almost whole days lost in little better than fruitless attendances, for it is not yet done. The present juncture of time has obstructed my course, and made the success more tedious than ordinary.

Sir, I know so prolix an apology needed not to so candid a bosom, as harbours nothing in it but of favour to me. Not a little troubled I was I should be just gone that very morning you came to London: but hackney coaches make stay for none; and had I not taken that day, I could not have begun the lecture till Michaelmas, and my journey would have been quite lost; which delay, after so great endeavours, would have been no small dissatisfaction to Sir *Thomas Adams*, who hath all along so greatly laboured for a more speedy accomplishment of this affair.

Sir, I crave your pardon, and present my very hearty and humble service, with my wife's, and our thankfulness for your many and great civilities, which have laid so great an obligation upon me, I can never enough acknowledge; but shall ever, to my utmost, study to attest and approve myself most really, Sir, your veriest humble,

and most commandable Servant,

Sion College, 20th July, 1666. Ed. Castell.

Professor *Buxtorf* presents his service to you.

This for the reverend and right worthy, my ever most worthily honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, &c.

LETTER XXXIII.

From the same.

Excellent and ever most worthily honoured Sir,

The far and wide extended fame of your incomparable perfections in all manner of knowledge, but especially of the most recondite learning, scarce known to any besides your most accomplished self, as it has caused many others to travel out of remotest parts, as Plato is said to have done out of Greece into Chaldea (whose ancient glory and multiplicity of sciences are, by the wheel of nature in the long decourse of time, rolled into Munden, which you, Sir, a right Trismegistus for Christian, Jewish, and Ethnic literature, will make to after ages more illustrious than either Babylon or Athens were of old), as others have been by this occasion drawn to come and drink out of your Parnassus; so is this gentleman, a real patrizing professor, Mr. *Buxtorf*, "maximo parente spe major filius," come out of a far country to sit at your feet (and, Oh! that I could be so happy to be a Cöassessor with him, there to imbibe some of those pure, refreshing distillations of heavenly doctrine, dropping from your plentifully replenished lips). Sir, your Cynosure for direction and advice, in steering happily the course of his studies, to attain such a majority above his predecessors,—what dead authors have most of the life of learning in their surviving works,—is that he humbly craves for at your hands, there being no asterism under heaven so able to conduct him. Having first thus moved you for another, your experienced clemency will not, I know, be displeased, if I add somewhat farther in reference to myself.

Sir, not knowing which way to convey any thing safely and certainly to you, and supposing you might possibly, this commencement-time, be at Cambridge, I made bold the last week to write to the truly generous Mr. *Sclater*, your right worthy president, to whom for all his civilities, with the rest of your Honoured Society, I beseech you the tender of my much obliged service and thankfulness: a small pledge of which, according to my poverty, I sent to each of them severally—a copy of my speech, at my opening

the Arabic Lecture, with one, in the first place, for your most reverend and highliest honoured self, craving your favourable acceptance, with both your and their pardon for whatsoever, in the perplexed labyrinth of my most discountenanced and discouraged labours, may have passed me defailantly or immaturely.

Sir, waving any farther apologies for my last lodging in town, and not in the college, where you had taken so much care for my good reception, I am very sure I should have satisfied you for my so doing, had not the narrow straits of time denied me that desired liberty when last at Munden.

Sir, my humble request now is, that seeing I must ("cum bono Deo,") be at Cambridge again next term, and intend to have my wife and a servant also there with me (not aged only, and much decayed with this destructive work, very heavily still incumbent on me, but so often limb-battered and bruised and broken as I have been, I dare not adventure myself in the winter time, without some careful help); my wife and servant I would willingly should continue there at Cambridge till about Lady-day, that so the term after (if God give me life and leave) I may again, when I go down thither, have their help; before which time I hope this tedious work will be completely finished. My request is, I may clearly understand whether it may be no ways incommodious to your own occasions, nor incongruous to the rights of the college, to borrow one room only in your lodgings, which can be best spared for so long a time; linen, bed-clothes, and all other necessaries, wherever I am, I purpose to send down.

Sir, I have so often had proof of your great promptitude to gratify my desires, it makes me more fearful in imparting them. I remember an old Levantine proverb, "When my friend is full of honey, I must not eat him all up." As I would not offend in accepting, with the duest gratitude, concessionable civilities, when offered, as your's was, from a most real hand,—so would I in no case that any overture should pass from me, that might occasion any the least prejudice or inconvenience. My aim, in short, is, that your goodness (such as I have not yet met with the like) may not, by my presumption, be either disaccommodated or encroached upon.

Sir, could I be yet once emancipated out of this cruel slavery, under which I have for fifteen years together been a very unknown sufferer, I know no man under heaven whose vicinity would make my life more patiently tolerated (it is for me to speak or dream of comforts here) than to be near one that has in him so much of heaven as you have (heaven the only thing I look and long for), and that I may, whilst here, attest and approve myself with clearest demonstrations,

Sir,

Your ever most faithfully avowed

Servant,

8th July, 1667.

E. Castell.

I beseech you, present my humble service to noble Sir *Thomas Brograve*.

Sir, my lodging is at Mr. *Roycroft's* house, a printer, in St. Bartholomew's-Close, London.

This for the reverend right worthy, my most highly and worthily honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, Rector of Much-Munden, in Hertfordshire.

LETTER XXXIV.

From the same.

August 5, 1667.

Most highly and most heartily honoured Sir,

"Dulciss^m^. Mundi decus, nemini notus, quin tehumani generis æstimet delicias; nemini ignotus, cui non absconditus maximus sub cœlo thesaurus." This, amidst all the discouragements I meet with in the world (which truly are very many, and multiplied daily more and more), is, under God, my soul's grand support and solace, that I have permanently such a patron, "Orbis literati Lumen splendidissimum," as is by all in that sphere right worthily esteemed the most famigerous Dr. *Lightfoot*. As he said "he could not sink whilst he had Cæsar in his boat," no more can my heart (though of

late miserably wafted up and down), whilst embarked in the happy vessel of your goodness and favour.

Sir, since my last to you, I have encountered with many counter-buffs of infelicities: first, in my great work, which I was promised should be carried on at the press with such diligence and speed, that I well hoped about Michaelmas term it would have been nigh or wholly finished. Now I have been waiting here almost five months, and but one sheet yet printed, who was told before I came up, I should have four or five sheets printed weekly. By this means I shall be forced to make it a full winter work, having now lost all the best part of the year. The blame for which was wholly in the printer, till about a month since, in which time I have run through much trouble and charge, by being bound for my elder and only brother, and for a debt which he paid sundry years before his death, but took not up the defeasance of a judgment he had before acknowledged. I was willing to have paid the debt 250*l.* over again, in case the party would have staid till my work was done, or that I was able; which she would not; but just after the ships were fired at Chatham, she commanded me to be arrested, and cast into prison, a time when the greatest bankers and goldsmiths in London would not pay to any the least mite of principal or interest. By this disaster, I have been since the 11th of last month impeded: no sooner at some liberty, but I made known immediately my adverse condition to the highest of ecclesiastical power, without compassion or relief.

Sir, these sad traverses of Providence compel me to alter my intended purpose of wintering my family, I mean a small part only, and most what myself (with your favourable concession most freely granted, for which I can never enough express myself sufficiently thankful) at your most delighted-in Catharine-Hall, where, could I have enjoyed your most beatific society, no paradise under heaven would more have sweetened the extremity of those sorrows and labours I have, now fifteen years together, sustained in the tormenting purgatory of this cruel undertaking,—with which I am still oppressed, and in which I have buried above one hundred and forty pounds land of inheritance, per annum, besides considerable sums of money I had before-hand when I began the work, and am now by it cast into very huge and vast debts:—all which signified (and that

not seldom) to those above, hath not yet obtained me to the value of five shillings per annum. Sir *Thomas Adam's* foundation and gift was upon no account of theirs. I comfort myself with this, I have in heaven a better master, and upon earth so reverend, noble, and most happy a Mæcenas as your honoured self.

The bountiful, generous, and most free proffers you have so kindly made me of your lodgings, is one of the chiefest inducements to make my life here desirable to me; which I cannot but often reflect upon with much comfort.

Sir, I blush to read the lofty eulogiums you give to so low and worthless a piece as that poor oration I sent you. The unkindnesses I have met with from some, have so dejected my spirit, that nothing of height or eminency can be henceforward expected from me.

Sir, my gratitude, service, and most sincere affection are all so deeply obliged unto your excellent goodness, it is impossible but die I must in a greater and more grievous debt to you, than to any or all those pecuniary creditors to whom I am so deeply engaged, who I hope may all in time receive their just satisfaction, which as I now, and shall ever acknowledge, cannot be given to you. "Nil nisi vota," in which I will be as free as those that can do most, to crave whatever heaven or earth can give you: that your comforts may abundantly increase with your years, till they come to be consummate above the reach of time or change, is the prayer of him who is,

Sir,

The greatest honourer of your glorious worth,

Your most humble servant,

E. Castell.

My wife also presents her humble service and thankfulness for the tender of your great civilities.

My humble service, I beseech you, to noble Sir *Thomas Brograve;* your venerable society at Catharine-Hall; particularly to Mr. *Sclater,* from whom I received a most courteous letter, and to the worthy professor, Mr. *Buxtorf.*

This for the reverend, right worthy, my most highly worthily honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, &c.

LETTER XXXV.

From the same.

20th August, 1667.

Ever dear and most deservedly honoured Sir,

Next to those from heaven, the breathings of the Eternal Spirit, never were there lines more seasonably sent to any, and more savoury, to refresh a fainting, wearied, dying heart, than those of your's (most truly homogeneous with the heavenly), which I last received, enough to make the sharpest afflictions not amiable only, but joyous and pleasurable. Sympathy alone in sorrows is no small solace, especially of such a person, in whom there is so much of the very Deity itself, much more when commixed with such expressions, which contain the fullest lively quintessence of all scripture consolations; in the mere reading of which I found my soul ravished and even transported for the time into communion with the blessed. How more than thrice happy (thought I) are they that live alway by such a reviving fountain! Most precious and dear Sir, I cannot often enough champ and ruminate upon those rich cordials, I lay continually before my eyes; your letter is indeed "semper ante oculos:" I cannot suffer it to be out of my sight; so replenished it is with soul-cheering, and supporting encouragements, enough to turn the prison and dungeon I was in, into a most delightful paradise. When in that dark vault, I well hoped that my misery was at the lowest; yet it pleases the wisdom of my greatest sovereign Master to exercise me with superadditions to my former sorrows. After seven foreigners, and as many Englishmen, whom at a very great rate I had salaried to be assistant to my work, all which, but one, above a year since, are dead or gone away; that one, the most faithful and diligent, trained up by me to some good skill in all the languages, in the very flower of his age (about his thirtieth year), since my last to you, was suddenly cropt by the hand of death, so as I have not so much as one collaborator now left to act with me. And instead of his help, promised me gratis, in regard of some considerable kindnesses I had done him, a great deal of trouble and care is already fallen upon me, by the mean condition in which he died. A city minister, he was burnt out of his living; my wife took his child into the country

which puts me still to a further loss. Nor find I that his condition, though very well known to those above, no more than mine, is any whit regretted by those that have the greatest power in their hands, whose hearts I beseech God to open. This is the true cause I made no sooner return to your last: this accident in the interim intervening.

I am glad to read of Professor *Buxtorf's* being fixed in your diocese, which, oh, how happy would it be to the republic of learning, if it were episcopal! All the worthies in the world, I persuade myself, would seek to shroud themselves under your jurisdiction. Your name, Sir, is indeed a sweet odour poured out into all nations; who are all bound to pray heartily for you, your health, welfare, prosperity, and longevity.

My very humble service to Sir *Thomas Brograve*. I pray, let him know that the late reverend and eminent professor, Dr. *Buxtorf*, did, in his life time, send me a collection of Chaldee and rabbinic words, which he had more lately taken notice of; whom I promised (as I did divers others of the like quality with him), that the first letters of their names should be affixed to every word they sent me, and some farther mention made of them in the preface to my work. My caballistic and rabbinic books (excepting what I lost by the fire), are most at Higham Gobion, fourteen miles from you, where my wife is, and will make both Sir *Thomas* and your honoured self most heartily welcome, if you would be pleased to grace her with a visit. My study door shall stand wide open to give you entrance, and every book you there find, most truly at the service of you both;—take them and use them at your pleasure. A good quantity I have at the Charter-House, but could never yet get any time to catalogue them: some very choice books there are, but lie all in confused heaps. But the greatest part of my library is in Essex, to which I have been a long stranger. Sir, your criticism of Bethabara and Bethany is so native, proper, genuine, and ingenious, I no sooner read it, but straightway said to myself, "Securus jurarem in verba Magistri," it is like all the other births of your blest Minerva. I communicated it to Mr. *Pool*, as an orient gem to illustrate his intended work. Sir, neither your reverend worthy self, nor your venerable Society, shall have no cause to chide me for balking Catharine-Hall, when I go next to Cambridge.

With your good leave, I fully purpose to make bold with your lodgings, where my time must be short: the presses will groan for me, as I shall for your most ambitiously coveted presence, whilst I shall be under your roof, if possibly such a felicity might be attained.

Sir,
My earnest prayers for you,
And most humble service to you,
Shall conclude, immutably,
Your veriest commandable servant,
E. Castell.

This for the reverend and right worthy, my most worthily honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, &c. &c.

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*LETTER XXXVI.

From the same.

Most honoured Sir,

The desired repute of your name and worth, amongst all the learned nation, occasions the presenting these enclosed papers to your judicious view, beseeching your clear impartial judgment concerning the design therein contained, which we may truly say, was not, at least for the present, so much contrived and undertaken by us, as by some with importunity pressed and urged upon us. Without your cognizance and approbation in a work of this nature, I would not willingly engage. For above the moiety of those years I have lived to, I must confess, I have at times been meditating and doing somewhat in tendency to such a work. Providence has now, with the assistance of so able and excellent a coadjutor as Mr. *Clarke*, singularly, and indeed eminently experienced in the same studies, made some overture for the production of what we have both for not a few years been in travail with, but Sir, not without your obstetricant hand, which we therefore here submit to your arbitrement, according as you shall think fit, either to stifle or give it life. If you shall choose the latter, our earnest and joint suit to you then is, you will do us the favour to signify what you find corrigible or changeable in the whole

* This letter should have been placed the first of Dr. *Castell's* Letters.

platform; whereby you will very much increase the pre-engagements you have already laid upon me, ever to acknowledge myself,

Sir,

Your redevable and really devoted servant,

Ed. Castell.

Dunsmore-House,
Dec. 2, —57.

I beseech you be pleased to vouchsafe us your answer so soon as you can conveniently; for that all will be suspended till that come.

For the reverend and right worthy Dr. Lightfoot, Rector of Munden in Hertfordshire.—This with care present.

Dec. 2, —57.

My most humble service, I beseech you, to the right noble Sir *Thomas Brograve*, when you next see him.

This for the reverend and right worthy Dr. John Lightfoot, &c. &c.

LETTER XXXVII.

From the same.

Reverend and ever most dearly honoured Sir,

After many dismal and most disastrous intervening letts and obstructions, which have too long kept me off from my intended journey to Cambridge, I am now fully resolved, σὺν Θεῷ, to be there upon the 16th instant, viz. Thursday next week,—but myself only and a servant. Our journey to Canterbury in November last (upon occasion of a prebendary befalling me), hath so wearied out my wife, she takes no pleasure to think of travelling any more this winter. My tarriance there I intend to make about a fortnight, that I may read at least two, and if I can three, lectures before my return, and then so fall amain, with all possible speed and diligence, upon my printing work again, which I hope, if my printer hinder not, half a year's time will completely finish.

Sir, it cannot be expressed how happy I should account myself, if your occasions would contemporize, that we might both meet at the same time in your Catharine-Hall. I dare

not think of taking any other lodging, were I assaulted with never so vehement importunities.

Sir, the date of my bonds and imprisonment is, I trust, now upon expiring, and the hope of liberty once more begins to dawn upon me; in which comfort I am sure your experienced goodness will most really share with me, as your sympathy was above others most cordial in my sufferings; whereby you have very deeply and indelibly obliged my heart to a co-affection with your honoured self, in whatever condition does betide you, unto an answerable likeness and equality. And truly, if what I have at Canterbury, had befallen me at Ely, though to a less value, I would have apprized, and congratulated my felicity, as incomparably much greater.

I add no more, but my own and wife's most humble service presented to your venerable self, with mine to the noble Sir *Thomas Brograve*, and all your most excellent Society; with my hearty votes for the welfare and prosperity of you all, whom your singular and unexampled favour has for ever bound to subscribe myself,

Most honoured Sir,
Your most humble and veriest
Commandable servant,

8th Jan. 166$\frac{7}{8}$.

EDM. CASTELL.

This for the reverend and right worthy Dr. John Lightfoot, Master of Catharine-Hall, and Rector of Much-Munden, at his house there.—With care and speed.

LETTER XXXVIII.

From the same.

Reverend and dearly honoured Sir,

YOUR letter with the cancelled bond I received, which I immediately sent to the Bishop of *Chester*, and give you my hearty thanks for your care and kindness therein, both towards him and me. Your most civil, favourable, and elegant excuse you make in your kind letter, would justly deserve I should freely present you with this first volume of the Lexicon;—I much deceive myself, if not the

hardest labour ever the English presses (to add no more) have in so little a time groaned with. God grant that it may be but so profitable to the public, as it hath been to me at once most difficult and chargeable; whereof one great reason hath been (which I must not promulge, however it wrings me) the want of such assistants as would be really συνεργοί: amongst very many I have had, I have but one foreigner only, whom I can call so: this hath incredibly increased and aggravated the charge to me. Notwithstanding, if you will accept of it, if I may know by what safe expedient I may best do it, I will freely send you one. I am sure it cannot come into the hands of one more able to judge of it, or that will do it with more candour. After your most mature perusal, I earnestly beg your censure with the same liberty, as to one you had never seen nor before heard of. Though every language will have a copious accession of words or significations more than any other yet extant, the Arabic above all others will very much excel: therein, therefore, I crave your more severe scanning; but withal your gentle admonition of what you find amiss, either through the correctors' fault or mine. I keep by me a collection of some which I have myself observed, and reserve for an appendix. But one desire more, which is, that your prayers may be for me, and the happy accomplishment of this heavy and most burthensome undertaking, wherein I shall both to my power reciprocate, and readily acknowledge my deep obligation to subscribe myself ever,

Sir,

The most affectionate honourer of
Your eminent worth,
Most ambitious to serve you,

Jan. 14, 1667. E. CASTELL.

To the reverend and right worthy, my ever honoured friend, Dr. Lightfoot, &c.

LETTER XXXIX.

From the same.

Reverend and ever right dearly honoured Sir,

YOUR late most favourable letter, all replete (as your constant wont is) with nothing but civilities, I received by

Mr. *Hefenhufen*, and am now preparing myself to usurp upon the freeness of your most friendly proffer. The next week after the term begins, about the 13th of September, I fully purpose to take my journey for Cambridge, which to me will be but a dark place, if not illustrated with the resplendent sun of your soul-rejoicing presence.

My stay there, in regard of my work, must be short. I am stopped at present for want of paper, which before my return from the university, I hope I shall not fail to be furnished with. I have (cum bono Deo) brought the Heptaglot Lexicon now within two sheets to its period: only an appendix, grammars, and the epistle or preface, remain to be added.

With my own and wife's most humble service, presented to your most honoured and excellent self, I commend you and all yours to the heavenly benediction and protection, craving the reciprocation of your votes in behalf of him, who, whilst he hath his being, desires to approve himself most faithfully in the quality of,

Right reverend Sir,
Your veriest servant, and most
Commandable servant,

Sept. 23, 1668.

E. Castell.

LETTER XL.

From the same.

Reverend and most sincerely honoured Sir,

The expectation of seeing you here in London foreflowed the sending these lines unto you sooner, which run now in a current of gratitude, to give you thanks for all the noble favours by your means and for your sake, I received from all the fellows, and the other officers of your college. Mr. *Gill* and Mr. *Jones* (to whom I delivered your letters) acted their parts, as they did all, most civilly. Nothing was wanting to the fullest accumulation to my happiness, but your every-day's most heartily wished-for presence: and that I might have understood the certainty of your confirmed dignities, which, I am told here, are two prebendaries; for which I exceedingly rejoice. Oh! how most blessed hear-

ing would it be for the whole church of England, if they would empty themselves both into a rich and large episcopacy; and, if I may be permitted to reflect upon myself, that I might be but one of your clerks: next to that reading one translator gives of our Saviour's words, "in domo patris mei multæ sunt prebendæ," I know no higher exaltation.

Sir, after my repeated thankfulness, with my veriest humble service to your most justly honoured self, I beseech you will be pleased to present the same likewise to all your venerable Society, to whom, for cohonestating, with their much refreshing presence, the fresh and yet infantine lecture so lately conferred upon our university, I am bound to return them both my own and the founder's most grateful acknowledgment of our joint obligations. And truly Sir *T. Adams*, the donor, is not a little glad when he hears his donation, (which he thought sometime elevated) to be now at last entertained with good respect; for I constantly let him know at least every great name that frequents it, and whereabout the number is of the meaner audience; which encouragement verily he most justly deserves, if but for this reason (not that he covets praise, unto which I know no man more angrily and infestly averse, but), for that some of his own flesh and blood (as I am told) want that for their necessary sustenance (by accident of the late dreadful fire), which he, so freely and but a little before it, had most firmly, and for ever settled upon our university: and whom would it not grieve to give away his estate from such near collops of himself, to the advancement of that learning which himself lives to see neglected? But, blessed be God, with us it is not so, I hope, nor ever will be.

Sir, craving your pardon for this prolixity, I add no more, but my own and wife's most humble service presented to you, with mine to all the rest before. I recommend you all, and all yours, to the heavenly benediction and defence, always in the quality of,

Reverend Sir,

Your most faithfully vowed, and veriest

Commandable servant,

EDM. CASTELL.

At Mr. *Roycroft's* in Great Bartholomew's Close, London, Feb. 12, 1668.

LETTER XLI.

From the same.

Reverend and most highly honoured Sir,

The suspicion of ingratitude by reason of this my so long silence, after so great and signal favours you do continually from time to time vouchsafe me, will, I doubt not, be removed easily, when your experienced goodness shall come to understand the urgent and inevitable occasions whereby I have been so long diverted from the obliged duty. Since the finishing of my great work I have been more harassed with tedious trottings up and down between the engraver, the roller, ruler, and binder, to get copies prepared and made fit to be presented, that really it hath been a greater trouble for the time, than the composure of it was when most grievous and oppressive. It was but this last week, that I could obtain the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* book to be in readiness for him. That over, my very next care was, how to find to, and convey safely the remaining parts of this so often and most unhappily interrupted work, unto your most worthy self; for which cause I write these lines. In a word, I may understand from you what expedient you will be pleased to direct me to, which shall be readily laid hold of, with no less speed than cheerfulness, in hope your gentleness and candour will cover all my many defailances and inadvertencies.

A seventeen years' drudgery for the public I have now undergone;—of fourteen or fifteen, I at first salaried at not easy rates,—to be subservient in this work in my aged years, and extremely decayed eye-sight. Thus left, and for no small time, quite destitute, without so much as one to be aiding to me.

Sir, If I knew how you would have these volumes bound (which is generally desired by all, in the same mode with the Bibles), I would do my best to have yours likewise done up suitably.

I purpose for Cambridge about, or a little after, the middle of this instant, where I shall continue to usurp upon your most favourable concessions, in the use of your lodg-

ings, as formerly, in case I may not trespass against your occasions for them; especially in regard of the now approaching commencement. I will come myself alone, and my page. If it be any way inconvenient, I will, upon notice, fix myself elsewhere, with no less thankfulness to your so often obliged civilities; which with my humble service to your most reverend self, noble Sir *Thomas Brograve*, and the rest of your honoured family (craving your pardon for this my bold presumption), conclude me ever in the quality of,

Reverend Sir,
Your veriest humble servant,
The truest admirer and honourer of
Your incomparable worth,

June 9, 1669.

Ed. Castell.

This for the reverend and right worthy Dr. John Lightfoot, &c. &c.

LETTER XLII.

From the same.

Reverend and right dearly honoured Sir,

These are to let you know how boldly I have trespassed upon your goodness and favour. I wrote to you about a month since, of my intentions (with your leave) to be here where I now am, with my desire to know by what expedient I might send you the remaining part of that work I have to so little purpose been labouring about for so long a time. I would gladly have had both the volumes bound up handsomely for you, if I could tell how to come by your first part.

This morning I made offer of one copy of the Lexicon, bound up, to your library, requesting it may be accepted as a poor pledge of those thankful acknowledgments, with which your excellent self, and this Honourable Society have eternally obliged me.

Sir, your servant stays for these lines, whom I saw but just now; which makes me hasten to conclude myself (that

which it shall be the work of my life to approve myself unto the uttermost),

Reverend Sir,
Your veriest humble, and most affectionate, redevable Servant,

5th July, 1669.

E. Castell.

Sir, my humblest service to the thrice noble Sir *Thomas Brograve.*

This for the reverend and right worthy Dr. John Lightfoot, Rector of Much-Munden, and Master of Catharine-Hall, Cambridge.

LETTER XLIII.

From the same.

Right dearest, and ever most highly honoured Sir,

Your most welcome, and even passionately longed-for lines came to my thirsty expectations, not only as the sweetest gentle dews to the grateful bee, but as the heavenly manna to the hungry Jews: and truly such food I found spread upon the whole face of your letter, but in the latter part especially—the sweetmeats reserved for the last course—as never all the colleges in the university, at a commencement-time, entertained their guests with any so acceptable; as the food for the soul is incomparably beyond that of the body. Sir, your acute and excellent illustration of that place, Ezek. viii. 17, I will not say seems to be, but is unquestionably the most proper, genuine, and, in all respects, congruous sense of it as hath been ever yet given; chiefly according to the Masoretic reading; and better than any other, as in the כתיב. Oh! reverend Sir, that you would be pleased so to gloss over the whole sacred text in all the difficult places of it. I meet often with many seeming contradictions and absurdities in our English (though one of the best), as well as in other versions. Job. iii. 5: "Let the shadow of death *stain*" (in the margent, *challenge*); a catachresis I remember not to be found elsewhere: נאל in the Arabic use is *excipere, colligere,* as the LXX. not there alone

best.—C. xv. 4, תגרע, "thou restrainest prayer;" whereas Job was often in prayer; in Arabic (in which language many words with him occur) جدع is to "protract and multiply," as the Syriac and Arabic, that render it, "Thou art much in complaints." C. xviii. 2, קנצי למלין aucupia verborum, again from the Arabic قنص contradicendi vices, as the Arabic and Chaldee both.—C. xvi. 18, "O, earth! cover not thou my blood, ויהי, so that there should be no place to my cry," because blood is a crying sin. To pray his cry should have no place—I am a Davus to that sense.—Prov. xxiii. 7, כמו שער בנפשו, "as he thinks in his heart,—and yet his heart is not with thee,"—seem very repugnant. Excellent Sir, pardon my tediousness; every day I meet with a world of these; and very humbly crave your best and ablest judgment, whether the Arabic, Chaldee, Syrian, may not sometime sit upon the bench, and pass the vote concerning the old mother's meaning.

But, most eminently worthy Sir, to the business about your copy, which it was my earnest desire might have been the second I ever gave out, and yet, I know not how, I am still ἀέκοντίγε θυμῷ behind with it, when many hundreds have received their's. You write, Sir *Thomas Brograve* (to whom, I beseech you, my humble duty and service) being a second time here in London, took out your copy, and sent it to Mr. *Roycroft's*. I cannot yet hear what is become of it; but most fully resolved I am, to make up your copy as entire and every way perfect as any whosoever: sure I am, my work could never have been so entire as it is, without you. All pretenders to the oriental tongues must confess their great obligation to you. Therefore, noble Sir, let me have your first part, and but send me word how your Bibles were bound, and you shall not fail to have these suited accordingly. I must not, honoured Sir, let pass the preamble of your letter, wherein truly you make me much ashamed in using such an apology to me, who, if I should write letters every week in the year, though you should answer never a one of them, your real favours and civilities I experience in one month, outvie all that ever it is possible for me to do within the compass of Nestorean years. Sir, I was fully purposed to have wintered it with my family at Cambridge, and had fully agreed upon Mr. *Wheelock's*

house, that I might have been as near to your royalty as I could. My swarm somewhat encreased, I was forced to look out a larger hive, not larger rooms than you have designed me—that were arrogancy to desire; but when two or three chambers would have sufficed me as I was formerly, I cannot contain my number now within those bounds. But disappointed I was and am, not only of that promise about Mr. *Wheelock's* house, but of some other places I had viewed; no account being sent me, though I had more than once desired it, concerning the one or other. So, as I must now go down alone with my servant, to read my lectures in the term; where my abiding, with your wonted leave and goodness, will be in your lodgings; and if half a chaldron of coals might be laid in upon my account (it will be but a part of the term I can be there), I will repay it with all possible gratitude, the first opportunity I can meet with; and I hope to come down myself thither, where your company, incomparable Sir, would make that place to me like one of the heavenly mansions. This, with my [*], though absent, most humble service presented to you, and to all your Honourable Society, I commend you all to the sure mercies of heaven, craving your prayers, who am,

Reverend Sir,

Your obliged, humble, and most affectionate servant,

20th August, —69.

E. CASTELL.

This for the reverend and right worthy, my ever dearly honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, Master of Catharine-Hall, in Cambridge, and Rector of Much-Munden, in Hertfordshire, at his house there (with care). *P. E. Gent.*

LETTER XLIV.

From the same.

Reverend and ever most worthily honoured Sir,

YOUR incomparable goodness, together with your both real and verbal civilities, do so infinitely surmount and transcend all possibility of any answerable recognition, that when I have acted to the utmost (which upon all occasions

I shall ever most faithfully endeavour, and with exultation embrace any occasion offered), after all I shall find myself invincibly concluded under that most unpardonable guilt of ingratitude; it not being in any mortal power (much less in that of my poor tenuity) to make suitable acknowledgments to your continually superabounding favours.

Sir, what you shall please to do for Mr. *Wray*, a very worthy and a suffering minister, will be an act of signal charity, which will oblige us both to pray for you.

I now send you back your bound volumes (wherein your name ought to have shined in the front of them, who have given the most orient splendour, if there be any such in them, unto all that is printed, and may therefore most justly be called yours), which, if they be done according to your mind (wherein I have not been wanting to my power, writing out the clause in your letter concerning it, that it might continually be observant to the binder's eyes), I much rejoice: if otherwise, upon sending up one of your Bible volumes, he shall more exactly fit it to your mind.

Sir, I return you my very humble thanks, for giving order about laying in some winter fuel for me in your lodgings, and that you are so graciously pleased to accommodate me with the use of them; the sight of your honoured presence there, would be a sun more joyful to my heart, than that in the firmament to the world.

With my veriest humble service presented to your renowned self, and to the right noble Sir *Thomas Brograve*, I commend you, and all yours, to the supernal benediction, in the quality of,

Reverend Sir,

Your ever real and most redevable Servant,

24th Sept. —69.

EDM. CASTELL.

This for the reverend and right worthy, his ever most honoured friend, Dr. John Lightfoot, Master of Catharine-Hall, Cambridge.

LETTER XLV.

From the same.

REVEREND SIR,

MY greatliest and most highest honoured master, father, and patron, for all these you are at once to me; think not, I beseech you, that I am so removed away from your Catharine-Hall with my goods, but that there is still left in me (with your good leave and liking), "animus revertendi" whenever I shall be in Cambridge "solo con guerpo y ombra," with none but myself and my servant. Coming now thither with a more numerous family,—without injury both to yourself and to some others in the college, I easily find I could not be sufficiently accommodated neither for rooms, nor beds for my occasions.—I must not abandon such a parent, who for so many years hath afforded me freely a good patrimony in such large and ample apartments:—such a master, by whom I have been taught and instructed so long "sine pretio:" such a patron and landlord as hath suffered me to live rent-free in so noble a structure, the space of a Nero's quinquennium; only with this difference, he grew worse afterward, but your beneficence (like those blessings Job received from God), is greatest at last; for all which what I have, I most heartily give "Monnoye de cordeliers" (as the French proverb phrases it), my most humble duty and service to your most honoured self firstly, and in the chiefest place; next, to your whole Honourable Society, for all the many civilities I have from time to time received.

Sir, I was last week with Dr. *Burton*, who presents his service to you, and if you come upon any occasion to London, is very ready to join his interest with yours, in mentioning my condition by the public service; in which I have now spent near twenty years in time, above twelve thousand pounds of my own estate, and for a reward left, in the close of the work, above eighteen hundred pounds in debt; almost a hundred letters written by me in five months' space since the convocation house last arose, unto the bishops, who passed a vote, they would help me off with my copies amongst their dignified clergy and others that thought fit to recommend it: to all which letters, only one of their lordships returned me an answer, and but five copies amongst them all hath been yet taken off. A petition I lodged in

my Lord *Arlington's* hands above a year ago, to his Majesty, whose chaplain I have been almost seven years, that a jail might not be my reward for so much service and expense, unto which by virtue of his Majesty's letters I was commanded. This veritable condition Dr. *Burton* is very desirous should be effectually made known to my lord keeper, like as I have more than once made it known to not a few other lords. If I must perish for all my pains and work, with so much difficulty effected, "Fiat voluntas Domini."

Sir, pardon, I beseech you, this extravagancy, and pray for him, who, by no extremity either of poverty or misery, will ever abate his zeal to approve himself faithfully,

Reverend Sir,

The truest honourer of your most incomparable worth, and your most humble servant,

E. Castell.

From the Charter-House, London, 24th October, —70.

This for the reverend and right worthy Dr. John Lightfoot, Prebend of Ely, and the most worthy Master of Catharine-Hall in Cambridge, with humble service.

LETTER XLVI.

From the same.

Reverend and right worthily most renowned Sir,

My dearly and ever honoured patron—such you make yourself to be unto me really; I received the last week, by your appointment, a gift,* "Auro quovis, gemmisque contra non carum," all the riches of the Levant congested together cannot equal; such a מכתם, as will justly deserve to be enrolled amongst the very next records to those of infallibility. And truly, Sir, all your rare discoveries of celestial verities seem to me to be all such, above the reach either of doubt or hesitation. If all the sacred or secret arcane letters of the holy writ were but so glossed upon and explicated throughout; oh! how empty a thing would all the critical learning of precedent ages be, in comparison of your elucidations! Go on, most excellent Sir; attempt hardily, confidently, progrediately, resolutely. God will certainly succeed your under-

* Horæ H. et T. in S. Lucam.

taking, crown your proceedings with a blessed conclusion, which the world will admire, the learned nation emulate, good men congratulate, and be thankful for it, and the whole series of all ensuing generations honour your memory in the dypticks of eternal fame; being all bound with annual panegyrics to bless God for you; all which you have long since merited, by what you have already achieved; but eminency in goodness knows no bounds, but in the sublimest culminations.

Admired Sir, when I read your inimitable compositions, it makes me wish my poor contemned work and I had been brought forth an age after you and yours; that so I might have embellished mine more amply with those sparkling orient excellencies which shine forth most illustriously in every line, that not flows, but rather beams from your pen.

Sir, pardon, I beseech you, the poverty of this return in this coarse homely "cordeliers money" (as the French call it) for so noble and unparalleled an enrichment, which with humblest gratitude shall never fail to be dutifully acknowledged by,

Reverend Sir,

The greatest honourer of your unequalled worth and your humble servant,

EDMUND CASTELL.

12th December,—70. From my lodgings at Mrs. *Salmon's* house, in St. Andrew's parish, Cambridge.

My wife with myself present our veriest humble and hearty service to you, whom God long preserve.

This for the reverend and right worthy Dr. John Lightfoot, Master of Catharine-Hall, in Cambridge, and Rector of Much-Munden, in Hertfordshire, at his house there, present I pray.

LETTER XLVII.

[See *Leusden's* Edition, vol. iii. page 185, &c.]

Rev. S. Clarke to Dr. Lightfoot.*

HONORANDE DOMINE,

LITERAS tuas, ad me septimo mensis proxime elapsi scriptas, decimo octavo ejusdem mensis demum accepi, quo tempore in eo eram, ut epistolio aliquo tuis occupationibus

* *Samuel Clarke* was born at Brackley, Northamptonshire, 1632. He was a member of Merton-College, and took his master's degree, 1648. In 1650, he kept

remoram injicerem: verum impræsentiarum te confidentius interpello, quia tibi placet eo me honore dignari, ut exoptatam tibi scribendi occasionem mihi offeras. Quod ad opus jam perfectum attinet, est quod Deo gratias agam, qui præter expectationem illud ad finem perducere concessit. Nulla autem causa est, cur mihi vel minima agatur gratia, aut laus aliqua adscribatur, ut quidem à te & aliis, quibus plurimum debeo, fit, quin potius majores tibi agere gratias debeo, quod suffragio et testimonio viri tam acris judicii non infidus fuisse judicer.

Quod ad alterum illud negotium, cui cum *Castello* me immiscui, attinet, molestum mihi foret, si mea promotione aliqua injiceretur remora; ac proinde præcipuus mihi scopus est, ut media, quibus id promoveri possit, excogitem, sive alium huic rei idoneum mihi substituendo, sive totum hoc negotium, si fieri possit, Oxonium transferendo, siquidem ejusmodi opera procurandi munus hîc mihi impositum est, sive illud aut Londini, aut Oxonii subinde inspiciendo, ac quovis modo pro viribus promovendo.

D. *Castell Bedwelli* Lexici vestigia premit; et cum Cantabrigiæ essem, mentionem injiciebam ejus partis Bibliorum Hebraicorum, quæ "Chronica" continet. Si Deo volente vires tuæ eatenus accreverint, ut Cantabrigiam venire liceat, gratissimum nobis feceris, si apud Vicecancellarium et Universitatem consilium nostrum promovere digneris.

Observantissimus et
humillimus tuus servus,
Sam. Clarke.

E domo Dunsmoriana, 18th June, 1658.

Judæus, quem nosti, se *Lublini* Talmud non minoris quam 15 pondo venditurum dicit.

a school at Islington, where he assisted in *Walton's* Polyglot. In 1658, he returned to Oxford, and became superior beadle of law, as also architypographus, being the last person who united the two offices. He died in 1669. His works are, I. Variæ lectiones et observationes in Chaldaicum paraphrasia. II. Scientia metrica et rhythmica; seu tractatus de prosodia Arabica ex autoribus probatissimis eruta, 8vo. III. Septimum Bibliorum Polyglottum volumen cum versionibus antiquissimis, non Chaldaicâ tantum, sed Syriacis, Æthiopicis, Corticis, Arabicis, Persicis contextum. This last is in MS. There goes under his name a translation out of Hebrew into Latin, of the piece Massecheth Beracoth.

LETTER XLVIII.

From the same.

Reverende ac æternum mihi honorande Domine,

Cum in initio elapsi mensis advenissem Cantabrigiam, tui illic videndi spe alebar, sed tantum aberat à te videndo, ut mihi triste morbi tui nuncium apportaretur. Scopum meum quod non possem attingere dolebam, sed præsertim quod ea de causa tuo conspectu et colloquio frui non licebat; leniebat tamen dolorem illum rumor, qui te feliciter reconvaluisse nunciabat. Intra breve tempus (proh dolor!) viris, qui inter amicos meos erant optimi, compluribus privatus sum, ac proinde, cum (liceat mihi sic dicere) tu, si non unicus, saltem primus illorum, qui adhuc sunt superstites, sis, est quod summopere de tua restitutione gaudeam. Cantabrigiæ illud mihi negotii datum erat, ut partem illam Bibliorum, quæ Targum in "Chronica" continet, commodato acciperem: eam cum accepi, jam eo transcribendo et vertendo, ut prælo committi possit, occupatus sum. Hoc una cum aliis hactenus ineditis opus nostrum volumine auctius reddet: editionem ejus quantocyus, Deo volente, ad ejus gloriam, ex consilio et ope præsertim D. *Pocockii*, accurabo. Præter alios eam mihi præcipuè persuaserat D. *Canton*, qui perscriptis ea de re literis ad me non semel pollicitus est, se cum suis amicis, si prælo id opus vellem committere, sumptus illi operi necessariò faciendos toleraturum: quumprimum prædictum librum acceperam, mei officii esse credebam cum eo de hoc libro ad prælum præparando communicare, sed post aliquam temporis moram, loco responsi ad meas literas, triste mihi de ipsius morte nuncium apportabatur. D. *Waltoni* propositum meum perplacet; verum simul addit vix ullam esse spem subscriptionibus venditionem ejus promotum iri, prout id D. *Castellus* in suo Lexico edendo expertus est, qui tamen imperterritus pergit, ac illud ad finem perducere proposuit, quamvis omnia sua in eo excudendo consumere cogeretur.

Unica jam hæc me spes fovet, non defuturos, siquidem Deo placuerit, qui liberali manu huic operi promovendo necessaria sint erogaturi, ea conditione, ut libris divenditis nummorum restitutio promittatur. Nullus dubito, quin, si quem

noveris, qui ejusmodi generosa actione nomen sibi conciliare cupiat, id omnibus viribus sis promoturus.

Commoratur hic loci nobilis quidam, D. *Boyle,* qui quinquaginta pondo dedit ad procurandam editionem *Hugonis Grotii* de "veritate Religionis Christianæ," quem D. *Pocockius* in Arabicam linguam transtulit. Nobilis hic eum ad Orientales mundi partes in usum incolarum, qui eas terras inhabitant, transmittere proposuit: eo excudendo prælum jam occupatur; præter eum brevi lucem adspiciet *Gregorius Abul Pharajus,* Arabico-Latinus; sudabit itidem sub prælo propediem *Johannes Antiochenus,* qui alias *Mallela* vocatur, Græcus Historiographus. Videt Dominus, quibus jam negotiis impliciti simus, et vitam à nobis non turpi otio transigi; libentius horum omnium rationem tibi reddo, ut liqueat me à D. *Castello* non secessisse, ut proposito nostro remoram objicerem, prout quidem suspicari videris, sed ea secessione opus cœptum felicius procedere, quam eo tempore, cum conjunctis operis illud promovebamus. Humillimum meum servitium optimæ Dominæ, conjugi tuæ, ut offeras rogo; preces tuas ad Deum imploro, ut debilibus meis conatibus benedicat. Excusa me, quod te hisce molestus sim; interim maneo

Tuus omni studio
Addictissimus servus,
Samuel Clarke.

E Collegio Mertoni, 3 Sept. 1659.

LETTER XLIX.

From the same.

Reverende et plurimum honorande Domine,

Quo magis tenuitatis meæ mihi conscius sum, eo magis gaudio me afficit, quod mei meminisse non dedigneris. Non tam frequenter, quod diffiteri nequeo, ut quidem cupio, tui memoria apud me viget, verum tuum demeritum sufficit ad memoriam tui apud me, aut quosvis alios, qui eruditionis et bonitatis aliquo sensu tanguntur, perpetuo renovandam. Ex animo tibi gratias ago, quod locum illum Talmudicum, cujus *Onkelos* mentionem facit, mihi indicare placuit. Beabis me, si tibi placuerit, significare, quid de eo judices, an locus ille tanti sit momenti, ut mereatur adscribi Auctori tui

Targum in "Chronica," in quo צעצעים translatum est עובר שושבין. Sed vereor, ne exemplar hoc diutius, quam par est, retinere videar; verum in ea describenda et transferenda plus temporis, saltem mihi, tam multis publicis negotiis occupato, consumendum est, quam in initio mihi persuaseram. Incertus sum, an ea audacia mihi uti liceat, qua tuam petam mediationem, ut restitutionis tempus paululum proferatur. Si Deus mihi vitam ad operis finem largiatur, ad te transcurram, ut illud restituam, ac te videre liceat . . . . . .

Sermonem habui cum D. *Pocockio*, de רקם גועה, sed non videtur posse credere גועה admittere sensum τοῦ תרי. Concede mihi quæso, quid de eo judicem, explicare. Septem celebres dormitatores Arabibus vocantur אעהז et ווקע. In geographo Nubiensi (p. 235, Lat.) ejusmodi locum assignatum reperimus inter Ammoriam & Nicæam, quæ in Asia minori sita est. Si ulla relationi huic veritas subesset, concipere liceret duo loca ejusdem nominis fuisse, ac errorem hunc ex confusione utriusque ortum esse: Kadesh enim translatoribus Arabicis ubique vocatur אלרקים. Et *Breidenbachius* cum audivisset, sive legisset אלרתים in Arabica lingua vocari אלכהף, (quod omisso articulo אל sonat Cahfa, et potuit ab ipso accipi, ac si esset Cawa, vel Cawatha, terminatio enim vocem non mutat) exinde conclusit Kadesh eo nomine indigitatum fuisse. Si vero ponamus relationem illam merè fabulosam esse, non video cur absque ulteriori disquisitione non liceret Kadesh assignare ceu scenam hujus fabulæ, et sic totum hoc negotium erit ad finem perductum. Interim excusa, quæso, hanc conjecturam et audaciam,

Rev. Vir,

tui addictissimi servi,

Oxonio, 23 Jun. 1662.

SAM. CLARKE.

LETTER L.

From the same.

REV. VIR,

NON te latet, me ex Universitate vestra commodato accepisse aliquod Manuscriptum, ea intentione, ut ex eo describerem et typis excuderem Targum in "Libros Chronicorum." Non tibi jam molestus ero speciali relatione, quibus

impedimentis, sive per calamitates publicas, sive per meas occupationes, id exsequi hactenus dilatum sit. Cum autem jam (nisi novæ, quod Deus avertat, turbæ impedimento sint) quamprimum Versionem illam aggredi statuerim, æquum esse censui te de ea consulere, ut qui mihi Universitatem, cujus exemplari utor, repræsentare videri potes. Hoc autem, cum longius à te remotus sim, non alio poterit fieri modo, quam apographa ad te transmittendo: speciminis loco, partem aliquam hic additam habes. Si eam perlegere non pigeat, reliqua sequentur, quamprimum ea descripta erunt. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si tibi placuerit liberè et ingenuè corrigere, quod in rudi mea translatione minus aptè positum occurrit, et speciatim attendere ad ea, quæ sese offerunt Cap. I. 5, 21, 31, 49, 51. Cap. II. 17, 18, 54, 55. Cap. III. 24. Cap. IV. 12, 15, 18, 22, 23, 24. Cap. V. 1, 2, 26. In his et ejusmodi aliis locis tuum judicium audire, et in difficultatibus, quas ibi reperi, à te juvari percupio. A Commentatoribus in 1 Reg. xii. et Hos. v. observo mentionem fieri præsidiariorum, quibus Jeroboamus decem tribus cohibebat, ne ad festum Hierosolymis celebrari solitum adscenderent. Hi remoti dicuntur ab Hoseatha filio Elæ. Quid autem Targum in Ruth, et hic cap. xi. 54, moverit id posteris Salmæ adscribere, fateor me ignorare; nec quid sibi velint "ligna secta et scalæ," quarum ibidem mentionem facit; in MS. cap. xi. 17, בערכאה per Caph potius legendum videtur; si autem per Beth legatur בערבאה, id potest verti "cum Arabibus," aut "in Arabia." Lectio et translatio, quam alteri præfers, ea locum habebit. In quibusdam locis nomina propria vertit: e. g. cap. iv. 11, loco מהיר ponit פירוג; sed assequi nequeo, quid intelligat per דצעת, quod ponit loco נחמם vers. 19. Eodem modo cap. i. 30, varia nomina propria translata sunt. Tuo judicio committo, an præstet nominum istorum significationes Latine reddere, vel eorum Chaldaicam Versionem servare. Ut verbo dicam, in omnibus locis, ubi duplicem à me vides translationem exprimi, (incertus enim sum, quæ ibi sit commodior) si altera illarum tibi placet, alteram, quæ tunc supervacanea esset, velim à te expungi; si neutra placet, aliam, quam meliorem judicas, substitue. Idem à te in omnibus aliis locis, ubi quid malè positum videris, ut fiat obnixe rogo. Totum hoc tuo judicio submitto, et illubens relinqui vellem, quod minus accuratè versum judicaveris. Cap. iv. 17, pro מינוח indubiè legendum videtur מיניה. In

hujusmodi autem locis lectionem manuscripti exemplaris servare statui, nisi forte aliter tibi visum fuerit.

Dubius hæreo, quid de punctis statuendum. Clarè mihi perspicere videor ea post conscriptum librum ab alio addita, ac proinde nullius, si modo alicujus, auctoritatis esse. Si absque punctis liber prodit, multis molestiis liberabor; nec molestum id erit Lectori, qui ejus linguæ non planè rudis est, siquidem Latinam Versionem præ oculis habet; et forsan satius erit eum non punctatum edere, ut qui eam linguam legere cupit, habeat in quo se exerceat; insuper omnia reliqua Targummim absque vocalibus excusa sunt. Tuum in hoc judicium sequar.

Jampridem typis hic excusus est exiguus tractatus "Beracoth" ex Talmude, quem tibi mitto; nihil enim aliud, quod donem, jam præ manibus est. D. *Smith* in Magdalenæ Collegio mihi narrat, eum à se itidem translatum, et D^ri^ *Pierson* oblatum esse. Vellem me ejus translationem vidisse, antequam hæc Versio in lucem prodiret. Sed id fieri non potuit, ob nimiam hujus operis absolvendi festinationem. Si exemplar alterum hic additum Doctori *Pierson* data occasione tradere, et officia mea illi offerre placeat, erit quod tibi porro gratias agam. Errata (quod nullus dubito) hinc inde, si oculos in eum conjicere dignaberis, invenies; quæ majoris sunt momenti, quæso, mihi indices, quando ad præsentem epistolam responsum remittere placuerit. Unum adhuc à te peto, ut, data occasione, humillimum meum servitium offeras Domino Vicecancellario, et meo nomine restitutionis MS. tempus paulò ulterius differri roges. Spero hac ipsa æstate me eum visitaturum; ac ea occasione, Deo volente, gratias tibi agam, quod te hisce molestus fuerim; de quo quidem me ut excusatum habeas jam obnixius rogarem, nisi majores tibi præsenti præsens agere tunc temporis statuissem, si tua cum venia id mihi dabitur, qui sum, &c.

. . . . . .

LETTER LI.

From the same.

R. DOMINE,

QUANDOQUIDEM me chartulis meis te porro interpellare concedisti, duas Targummim plagulas, et quicquid hac-

tenus transcribi potuit, transmitto. Plurimum tibi debeo, quod laborem hunc, non exiguum sanè, susceperis, et candidè tuum in locis, quæ annotasti, judicium exposueris. Errores mihi indicari non solum ægre non fero, sed tibi pro annotandorum horum cura quas possum gratias ago maximas. Eodem quo cœpisti pede in sequentibus ut pergas rogo, nec minus in "Beracoth;" hic enim tractatulus festinantibus Typothetis prælo commissus est, ac proinde erratis non caret.

Quod ad hæc aut illa loca, quibus crisin tuam apposuisti, attinet, liberè dicam quid me moverit, ut eo modo, quo factum est, ea transtulerim, non tamen alio scopo, quam ut illud judicio tuo, sive approbando, sive improbando, submitterem. Sicubi fuerim prolixior, id non ob aliam causam factum est, quam quod brevior in sensu exprimendo esse non potuerim; interim monitus brevitati potius studebo.

Propediem, Deo adjuvante, opus ipsum aggrediemur; typos enim et chartas necessarias nobis comparavimus. Si tibi placuerit ad nos remittere apographa Latina, quæ à te perlecta sunt, poterimus initium facere, reliqua deinde transmitti poterunt. Textum ipsum penes te reserva, si tibi sic visum est, ut finita collatione integer remittatur. Post preces pro tua salute et incolumitate, maneo.

Holywell, 8 Octob. 1667. . . . . .

P. S. Oblitus fui tibi narrare me statuisse Commentarium hunc edere amplo folio, uti Biblia Polyglotta edita sunt, ut aliis illius Operis additamentis adjungi possit. Si tu et tui similes id probant, animum nobis eo modo procedendi addes.

CAP. I.

Vers. 5, Lubens tuo judicio de ויתניא subscribo. Concipiebam illo significari Bithyniam ceu provinciam, et Athenas ceu nomen solum urbis: jam autem percipio, ea voce non solum posse denotari illam urbem, sed totam Atheniensium rempublicam, sive omne id, quod Athenarum imperio subjacebat. Ob eandem causam non vertissem אובידוס "Ephesus," ceu nomen urbis, nisi fuissem dubius, quid ea voce indicaretur.

Firmiori innixus fundamento אפריקי vertendum judicavi per "Phrygiam," cum *Bochartum* mecum sentire animadverterim. Præterea nescio an פרכוי aliter, quam à me factum est,

verti potuerit, cum inter literas non magna sit differentia: Vau enim et P ejusdem organi literæ sunt: nec vero abludit Percopenses Tartaros eo tempore, quo Targumista hic sua conscripsit, abunde orbi fuisse cognitos.

גדמכייא גיתייה respondere videtur τῷ אפריקי וגרמנייא in primo Targum, et in secundo גרמכייא forsan idem erit cum גרמנייא in primo: facilis enim τοῦ נ et כ est transmutatio, quam hic lubens concederem, saltem ob eam causam, ne Gomer in Africa locum assignare cogar. Insuper quamvis hoc et Hierosolymitanum Targum Barbariam filio ejus Togarmæ assignent; dubito tamen, an id ipsum eo nomine intelligant, quod in ea orbis parte jam sic denominari solet; in hac opinione me *Bocharti* sententia confirmat, quem de ea re consului; ostendit enim per "Barbariam" intelligendam "Phrygiam," in qua Togarmæ locum à *Josepho* assignari ait, quod cum dicta interpretatione τοῦ אפריקי convenit: nam si Gomer sedem fixit in Phrygia, non est quod quis posteros ejus in eadem regione inveniri miretur.

Vers. 7, Si אלם legendum est אלם, ut non sine ratione conjectas, annon id poterit verti "Hellas?" Sic *Bochartus* id ex Chaldaïcis (credo eum intelligere Jonath. et Hierosolymitanum) citat et vertit; quanquam potius statuendum putet אלישה esse "Elis," seu prolixius "Peloponesus."

Vers. 6, Aliud (quod prius non observaveram) sexti versus Targum est in superiori margine, quod sic sonat: ובנוי דגמר אשכנזי הארודי אסייה ודריגת וגרמנקייה. Hoc autem facilius reddi potest: "et filii Gomer, Ashkenazi, Arvadeus, Asia, et Derigath, et Garmankaija;" quam secus intelligere, aut sensum aliquem ex eo formare possum. An illud annotare operæ pretium sit, an non, tuo relinquo judicio. Forsan ejus scopus fuit, cum ponit אשכנזי, tantum citare primum nomen Hebraïcum, omissis reliquis, uti in posteriori Targum *vers.* 7, eodem modo ponitur אלישה. Sensus alioquin esse posset "Ashkenazi," i. e. "Arvadæus, et Elischa," i. e. "Hellas," seu "Elis."

Vers. 10, Per "homicidam innocentium" non aliud intelligo quam "fusorem sanguinis innocentis," uti ad verbum sonat. Si tibi prior translatio displicet, substituam posteriorem.

Vers. 16, Vero simillimum est חמץ idem esse cum חמץ Arabum; nihil autem historicis et geographis frequentius est, quam eo intelligere "Emissam." *Abulfeda* hanc ait sitam in longit. 61. 0. latitud. 34. 0. et Apamiam אבמיה in longit.

61. 0. in latitud. 35. Quod satis convenit cum *Ptolemæo*, si primi meridiani differentia observetur: hinc *Ugulbeg*, qui initium longitudinis sumit ab Insulis Fortunatis, (uti etiam fit à Ptolemæo) collocat Hems in longit. 70. 45. latitud. 34. *Nashir Eddin* autem "Hems" sitam vult in longit. 70. 40. latitud. 34. 40. et eandem dimensionem assignat τῷ Hama, ut mirum non sit, si Hems et Hama, à se invicem non longe distantes, subinde pro eodem loco accipiantur. Sed quid causæ sit, cur Hems et Hama cum Apamia, (quæ ab iis integro gradu in latitudine versus Septentrionem distat) confunderetur, ut à quibusdam fit, non video.

Prius autem quam ad alia transeam, non possum non observare, quod verba, quæ in fine septimi versus superflua sunt רידום וחמין ואנטיוך, ceu secundum Targum ad hunc versum referenda videantur; cum enim ץ facile potuerit poni pro ן, posset חמץ fuisse positum pro חמין.

CAP. II.

Vers. 18, 19, Gratias tibi ago, quod locum in Talmude produxeris, ubi Azubah dicitur esse Miriam. Contra autem Targumista hic vult Ephrath esse Miriam, ob rationes forsan non debiliores, quam habuit Talmud. Interim nescio, quare hic se auctoritati Talmudis hoc loco et cap. iv. 4, opponat, nisi occasionem arripuerit ex cap. iv. 17.

Vers. 21, Nullam itidem, forsan minorem, rationem video, cur à textu recedat, enarrando annos ætatis *Chesronis*. Si in annorum illorum supputatione paulo majorem statuisset differentiam, potuisset illud inservire solvendo dubio, quod *Kimchi* movet de anno ætatis, quo *Chesron* genuit *Calebum*.

Vers. 46, Fortassis non à vero aberrabitur, si legatur, "*Charan* vero genuit *Gazezum*," quod ut incertum in medio relinquo. *Junius* legit, "*Charan* enim," &c. unde plane alius eliceretur sensus.

CAP. IV.

Vers. 8, Nullum relinquitur dubium, quin, ut optime observas, חור debeat esse חוד. Attamen in margine annotatum video "בל הוה. Videtur legendum הוה." Probabile censeo, eum, qui hanc observationem in margine addidit, eumdem fuisse, qui puncta ubique adjunxit, cum atramenti color

id ipsum indicet. Sive id verum sit, sive non, ex his et aliis locis id saltem liquet, puncta non ejusdem antiquitatis cum ipso textu esse; ac proinde constitueram, ut ante monui, omnia puncta omittere.

Vers. 13, 15—17, *Junium* sequutus ubique posui "filios" in accusativo casu. Id autem potiori jure facere videor, quam ipse: nam ex eo *vers.* 17, referri debet ad personam unam, cujus antea facta fuerat mentio, quæ proinde per eum intelligenda est, qui fuisset aut "Celub frater Shuchæ," *vers.* 11, uti intelligit *Junius*, ac proinde in eo vestigia ejus premo, aut "Caleb filius Jephunnæ," *vers.* 15. Si autem posterius tibi magis arrideat, tunc non "filios" *vers.* 13, et in initio *vers.* 15, sed "filii" legendum erit.

Vers. 22, In MS. solummodo est עתיק, absque ulla præpositione.

Vers. 23, MS. habet ובדן ומשכללין. An id vertendum אמא דמלכותא "mater regum?" Memini in aliquot locis Targum מלכון positum esse pro מלכין; sed loca jam non occurrunt.

Vers. 40, In textu manuscripti מין ביניהון. Sed prius Jod eodem calamo, quo puncta sunt addita, expunctum est.

CAP. V.

Vers. 23, פירוי melius in Targum Jonathanis et Hierosolymitani ad loca Deut. iii. 9, et iv. 48, punctatum videtur פירוי. Ex allegatis locis apparet "Hermon," et "Sirion," et "Sion," et "montem nivis," et "montem corrumpentem fructus suos" non esse nisi diversas denominationes ejusdem montis. Postremarum denominationum ratio conjici potest ex descriptione Jonathanis: "Eum neque hyberno, neque æstivo tempore unquam absque nivibus esse;" unde probabile est fructus, antequam ad maturitatem pervenirent, corruptioni obnoxios fuisse. Forsan eo respexit nomen ejus "Sirion" שרין, quod derivari videtur à "שרה solvit, dissolvit:" dissolutio enim semper putrefactionem sequitur. Psal. xxix. 6, vertitur "mons producens fructus," quasi à מסר. *Abulfeda* describens fluvium Jordanem eum scaturire ait ex שר "monte nivis." Idem alibi Paneam ad radices אלתאע "montis nivis" sitam esse ait, et addit summum ejus fastigium æstate ac hyeme nivibus obtectum esse. Idem porro montem illum prolixius ac specialius describit, cujus descriptionis summa

huc redit: "שׂי אלתאע" montem nivium, et לבנאן Lobnam, Libanum, et אלקוע Loccam omnes esse continuatos montes, qui à Meridie se extendunt versus Septentrionem: extremitatem ejus Meridiem versus esse prope Saphet, aut, juxta alium, propter longit. 59. 45. latitud. 32. 0. Inde ad Septentrionalem tractum Damasci se extendens, illic appellatur Senir; illa autem pars, quæ Damascum spectat, vocatur באשיון Kasion, mons Casius, in quo Cain fratrem suum Abelem occidisse dicitur. Porro se extendit ultra Damascum ad Occidentem Balabaci, è cujus regione nomen sortitur יר לבנאן montis Lobnan, id est, Libani, in grad. longit. 60. 0. latit. 33. 30. ubi Tripolim versus Orientem spectat, vocatur mons Accar, à castello ejus nominis illi monti inædificato. Inde pergit ad Hesnol-Acrad (castellum Cordorum) itinere unius diei versus Occidentem urbis Hems, et sic pergit è regione Hama, et Snaizar, et Apamiæ, ubi denominatur יר אלקם mons Loccam, in longit. grad. 60. 50. latitud. 35. 10. Inde porro extenditur ad grad. longit. 62. 0. latitud. 37. non longè ab Antiochia, ubi tandem desinit, ad cujus radices אלנאהר fluvius Atsi (Orontes) eum separat a montano tractu Armeniæ."—Hæc de montibus illis ex *Abulfeda* qua potui brevitate extrahere visum fuit: vix enim dubitare licet, quin Auctor hic, qui in illis oris vixit, eos accurate descripserit. Hæc autem lucem aliquam subministrare possunt, quin et accipere ex iis, quæ in Talmude et aliis Auctoribus occurrunt.

Unum adhuc à te doceri velim, quam putes rationem esse, cur *Onkelos* et *Jonathan*, Deut. iii. 9, ubi Hebraicus textus habet שניר, ponant טור תלגא, non secus ac si utrumque idem significent.

CAP. VI.

Vers. 35, In Manuscripto est ואחוהון. An suades id ita excudere, aut secundum usitatam Chaldæorum formam ואחיהון, et sic in erratis aliis.

Vers. 54 et 65, עדב פיצתא "Sortitio sortis." Latinitas hæc mihi non admodum placet. Non dubitem, quin aliam vocem sis substituturus.

CAP. VII.

Vers. 21, לנובת nihil significat, quantum scio. Forsan

legendum erit למסב ית, vel למבן. Prius cum Hebraico textu melius convenit.

CAP. VIII.

Vers. 13 et 28, Patriarchæ in hoc et aliis locis respondet רישי אבהך שׁד. Si tibi hoc minus placet, aliud substituam.

Vers. 38, בוכריה accipi debet pro nomine proprio : secus enim non essent sex nomina. Hebraicum MS. בכרו legit. Sed vocales illic ejusdem auctoritatis esse judico, ac illas, quæ in Chaldaico exemplari sunt.

CAP. IX.

Vers. 11, סדבן videtur positum esse pro סדכן. Idem dicendum de סבכן *vers.* 20.

Vers. 22, "In munere," vel "officio suo." Chaldaicè, "In fide sua," quod cum Hebraico convenit. Expressione, quæ tibi commodior videtur, utar. Sic *vers.* 31, potest legi, "in officio," vel "cum officio."

CAP. X.

Vers. 10, ושדא videtur poni pro ושדרך. Et *vers.* 13, נטל pro נשר.

CAP. XI.

Vers. 22, דתיל ponitur pro דחיל, et דיכמה pro דיכטה vel pro דיכמיה. Sed cum litera calamo correcta sit, prius scriptum fuisse videtur היכמיה. In eodem versu דבירב idem verbum est in MS. Dubius sum, an id non potius legendum sit דביה רב vel דבי רב, ut בי idem sit quod בית. *Vers.* 23, in MS. deest חמש, et pro ואנשית legi debet ואנס ית. *Vers.* 26, in MS. desunt hæ voces אלחנן אתוי דיואב.

LETTER LII.

From the same.

R. Domine,

Post ultimas meas ad te, observationes tuas, quas tunc temporis nondum acceperam, ut perlegerem permiserunt occupationes meæ. Hinc multæ sunt rationes, cur tibi denuo maximas agam gratias, specialius autem pro tua observa-

tione in vocem פמיאס. In MS. occurrit hæc vox, uti eam descripsi, sed ex tua annotatione et ex rei ipsius natura convincor legendum esse פניאס. Ejus generis vitia haud raro in MS. occurrunt. Arabes in suis Geographiis locum hunc nominant באניאש "Banias," quod idem est cum priori, nisi quod B sit loco P, hac enim litera carent. *Abulfeda* eum locum situm fuisse ait ad radices "montis nivium," grad. in longit. 59. 0. latitud. 53. 0. Ejus in apographo quodam mentio fit, ac dicitur denominata fuisse ינר ארשבאט, seu "Medinat' ol Asbath, urbs tribuum." Ratio hujus denominationis non additur. Ego sic concipiebam, urbem illam sic potuisse denominatam esse eo tempore, cum (juxta tunc usitatam illius tractus divisionem) territorii Damasceni pars censebatur, occasione ejus nominis desumta ex eo, quod prioribus seculis ad aliquam tribuum Israëlis pertinuisset. Consideratu autem maxime dignum est, (hujus enim gratia reliquorum mentionem injeci) quod de lacu Paneæ, id est, Samochonitidis, asserunt: "In eum confluunt multi fluvii ex proximis montibus, et ex eo fluit נחר אלשר בינן Nahrolshariat," (sic enim illis "Jordanes" appellatur) "qui se in lacum Tiberiadis exonerat."

Alibi idem de Jordane scribens ait, "Illum originem suam debere fluviis, qui ex montibus nivium scaturientes in Paneæ lacum effluunt." Fluvii autem hi rivuli, nullo nomine noti, fuisse videntur: si enim duo fuissent rivi, ex quorum nominum conjunctione ipsius fluvii denominatio originem habuisset, prædictus Auctor, qui ejus regionis situm apprime noverat, illud non potuisset ignorare. Quod ad lacum Apamiæ attinet, Auctor ille eum deducit ex fluvio, Orontes dicto, qui lacus illius medium perfluit, eodem modo, uti Jordanes per eum, qui Paneæ dicitur; ac proinde censet differentiam inter hunc et illum fluvium statuendam esse, ut rectissime in eximia tua "Centuria Chorographica" statuis.

Hac occasione addo, non facile posse conjici, quare Jordanes nominetur "Nahrolshariaat," id est, "fluvius legis," aut "præcepti:" me quod attinet, fateor, me rationem vix posse dare, nisi derivetur à renovatione præcepti seu legis de circumcisione. Quid de eo sit, vellem à te doceri.

Hisce narrandis prolixior fui, quam ut reliqua possim recensere, ne tua patientia abuti videar.

Nupera hebdomade epistola ad me missa est D. *Dobson*, Bibliothecarii publici Cantabrigiensis, qua nomine Vicecan-

cellarii sine mora hoc manuscriptum restitui vult. Illud penes me habere, cum typis excudetur, commodum et forsan necessarium judicabatur; et hæc causa est, cur illud tamdiu apud me retinuerim. Si qua tibi occasio offeratur illuc proficiscendi, rogo, uti antea rogavi, ut de eo cum D. Vicecancellario loquaris. Cum per anni tempus viæ erunt commodiores, Deo juvante, Cantabrigiam ipse proficiscar, ac MS. restituam. Impræsentiarum te rursus aliqua parte apographi turbo, et quæ restant describere festino. Interim quoad vivam manens, etc.

. . . .

Holywell. 17 Decemb. 1667.

LETTER LIII.

From the same.

R. Domine,

Ultimis meis ad te per nimiam festinationem chartas, quibus annotata mea breviter conscripseram, addere oblitus sum; eas jam tibi mitto, cum postrema operis totius parte. Cum tempus et occasio ferent, eas poteris perlegere, ac omnes simul ad me transmittere. Autographum, si sic visum fuerit, tibi serva, ut, cum te de hac aut illa materia consulo, (quod ut facere liceat, obnixe rogo) quid sentias melius judicare possis.

Velim mihi à te indicari loca Talmudis, unde, quæ hic citantur, desumta sint. Quæ hic aut illic omissa sunt supplevi, ut in margine postremarum plagularum reperies: quid de eo sit, tuo id omne judicio subjicio. Non tibi hac vice porro molestus ero, sed abrumpo, te cum tuis divinæ protectioni commendans, etc.

Holywell. 6 Maii, 1668.

Targum in II. Paralipom.

CAP. VI.

Vers. 14, יי videtur superfluum esse.

CAP. VII.

Vers. 6, Hic aliquid omissum videtur.

CAP. VIII.

Vers. 13, Non mihi satisfacio voce "Conventus" pro מוספי״א. *Versus* 16, in MS. deest. Hiatus ejusmodi ansam mihi præbent judicandi, exemplar illud, ex quo hoc descriptum est, hinc inde non potuisse commode legi. *Vers.* 17, indubie לברר ponitur pro לכרך, ac proinde sic transtuli.

CAP. IX.

Vers. 14, Scire aveo, quæ regio sit "Sistevatha." *Vers.* 25, Salomo sibi tantum reservavit decimas stabulorum. *Vers.* 28, concipio scribi debuisse אדעתא. *Vers.* 29, חזוניא, forsan melius נ in י vertetur, et נ transponetur.

CAP. XI.

Vers. 11, וספין videtur superfluum.

CAP. XII.

Vers. 5, Ante איתכנשו videtur deficere די.

CAP. XIII.

Vers. 5, דאוא videtur legendum pro דיכא. Hinc iterum liquet exemplar primum non satis clare scriptum fuisse. *Vers.* 6, שלמה in autographo extat בן דויד, quod in Targum non exprimitur. Nescio an hæc omissa inserere consultum sit, aut non. *Vers.* 8, דיכפת pro ריכפת: simile est cap. xi. 23, *vers.* 9, תריבתון ponitur pro תריכתון. *Vers.* 12, ובמנוחי pro וכנוחי.

CAP. XIV.

Vers. 5 et 6, Lego שדוכת, cum in aliis omnibus libris legatur שרוכת. *Vers.* 14, ביזתו, vox est inusitatæ formæ.

CAP. XV.

Vers. 8, מן קירויה. Sic extat in Manuscripto, absque copula. *Vers.* 15, קנומא, quod nihil, quantum novi, significat. Fuerunt, qui illud voluerunt corrigere, forsan idem ille, qui vocales addidit, in summitate vocis addidit, ut sit קָנוֹמָא. Bene fecisset, si delevisset literam נ; absque dubio enim legi debet קיומא vel קיומא. *Vers.* 16, אעדי״ה. Melius fuisset si *Kamets* hic positum esset loco *Tsere*. המלך vox Hebraica

hic non est translata, et pro ביעוכה indubie legendum est גיחוכה.

CAP. XVI.

Vers. 3, Ex Hebraico textu apparet, phrasi illa מימרך בין ממרי וברי יבין nihil aliud denotari, quam à me translatum est; ac proinde hinc licet conjicere in locis, ubi exprimitur מימרא דיי, "verbum Domini," non aliud significari, quam si simpliciter diceretur "Dominus." Tuum de eo judicium mecum ut communicare placeat rogo.

Vers. 6, Varia lectio in margine alia manu annotata est. *Vers.* 9, vox נסכלה non est translata. Substitui ejus loco איטפשתא. *Vers.* 4, Non possum non annotare versionem vocum אבל מים. Planum videtur, Auctorem pro מים legisse מים. *Vers.* 12, תבע אולפן vellem melius posse exprimi: hîc et alibi usus sum voce "Consilium." Vid. cap. xx. 3, cap. xxiv. 21. In voce וריחנין copula videtur superflua.

CAP. XVII.

Vers. 5, דבית יהודה hîc et alibi verto "de domo Jehudæ." Non minus benè, forsan melius, esset simpliciter vertere "Judæi." *Vers.* 14, supplevi מיניהון; sic enim vertitur פקדתם 1 *Paral.* xxiv. 19, et 2 *Paral.* xxvi. 2.

CAP. XVIII.

Vers. 16, כל in MS. tam Hebraico quam Chaldaico exemplari deficit. *Vers.* 23, Vix concipere possum, quomodo ex ומחא possit fieri ואלהי, quod mihi persuadeo à Targumista translatum esse, uti fit 1 *Reg.* xxii. 24, *Vers.* 25, bis ponitur תמן pro תון, quod fortasse fuerat scriptum תוון, ubi duplex Vau ab imperito scriba malè putavit esse מ. Hoc vitium circa hanc vocem hîc sese manifestè prodit. *Vers.* 33, nescio quid aut quem intelligat per רב: Benhadad enim indubiè eo tempore Rex erat Syriæ.

CAP. XIX.

Vers. 3, Sic suppleri potest: אשירתא מן טבין אישתבהו ברם פתגמין ארעא ואתקיבתאלבך למתבע דחלתא עמך ארום פליתא דיי. *Vers.* 8, בין positum est pro מן. Mallem legere ולמלי. *Vers.* 10, prius תחחייבון deberet esse יתחייבון. *Vers.* 11, in Hebraico MS. est וזכריהו pro וזבדיהו.

CAP. XX.

Vers. 6, דארעא videtur superfluum. *Vers.* 16, חדא absque dubio est pro חרא; prout יומאחרא idem est quod יומחרא in una voce; ubi obiter mihi probabilius videtur vocem illam esse à radice אחר, quam à מחר. *Vers.* 24, מיכפת poni videtur pro ריכפת, quod alibi respondet חמין חָשׁ. Sed si tale verbum מיכפר eo sensu tibi notum est, id quæso mihi indices. *Vers.* 25, וקם convenit cum יעמו, quod Targumista indubie reddit ועמה; nescio tamen, unde mutatio illa in וקם originem suam habere possit. *Vers.* 37, לטורסום; prius erat scriptum לשורסן, cum Nun finale ejusdem sit figuræ cum Vau, nisi quod deorsum sit longius. Hæc erroris hujus occasio esse videtur; posterius Samech alia manu additum est.

CAP. XXI.

Vers. 1, עם אבותיו iterum in Targum omissum est. *Vers.* 7, בית דוד. Hic debuisset legi בית יהודה. *Vers.* 11, ואטעיית legendum est ואטעי ית, uti proximè sequitur.

CAP. XXII.

Vers. 4, תורביצתיה positum videtur pro תורביינתיה. In ejusmodi scribendi forma facilè י potest mutari pro צ.

CAP. XXIII.

Vers. 4, Non facile dictu est, quomodo ex תילתא possit formari פלנות, uti fit versu proximè sequenti. *Vers.* 11, Nescio quid sibi velit שייבה, nisi id fortè debeat esse שייבה, quod idem significat, quod שאיבתא, 1 Paral. xx. 2. *Buxtorfius,* in voce שאב annotat "Talmudicos mediam radicalem א quandoque abjicere, quandoque in י convertere." Reliqui in Latina Versione spatium, quod ex tuo judicio supplebo. *Ibid.* היכזינו (quod in MS. occurrit) circa finem versus anomalῶs punctatum videtur. *Vers.* 12, מרנבין videtur positum pro מרנבין, ac proinde sic transtuli. *Vers.* 13, Debuisset poni כל עמא דארעא, ut cum Hebraico textu conveniret. *Vers.* 15, Post vocem אתר alia scripta fuisse videtur, quæ forsan vix legi potuit, ac proinde spatium hic relictum est.

CAP. XXIV.

Vers. 5, Targumistæ legisse hic videntur לדבר. Sic habet Versio Syriaca, quæ illud vertit ܠܡܡܠܠ et LXX.

Interp. qui legunt λαλῆσαι. *Vers.* 6, velim ex te scire, quid judices de translatione משאת per זמנא משכן. *Vers.* 21, vox ואטליתיה posita videtur pro ואטלו יתיה. *Buxtorfius* varia adducit exempla, quibus ex *Jonathane* אטל eo sensu usurpatum fuisse vult: nihilominus scire aveo, an non judices vocem posse derivatam esse à radice טול vel טלל, quorum unum significat "projicere," et alterum "operire." *Vers.* 27, Parenthesis traditionem aliquam, quam tamen nullibi legi, respicere videtur.

CAP. XXV.

Vers. 7, Hebraica vox המלך non translata hîc relinquitur. *Vers.* 18, Vox סילמא in margine rectè correcta videtur.

CAP. XXVI.

Vers. 9, Hebraicum המקצוע translatum est per כיומיתא, vocem, quam non intelligo. *Vers.* 10, ומישור omissum est, ejus loco, si tibi sic visum fuerit, substituam ובמישרא. Eod. vers. suspicor errorem esse in vocibus וענבי כרמין, quas malui transferre juxta textum Hebraicum, quam quoad earum propriam significationem, uti hoc loco conscriptæ sunt. *Vers.* 13, ושבע נואה; ejus loco deberet legi ושבע אלפין. *Vers.* 15, כאבנין positum videtur pro באבנין. Et paulo ante למפסק pro למפתק. *Buxtorfius* contra ex Targum Hierosolymitano in Gen. cap. viii. 22, citat פתקין loco פסקין, quod tamen in nostra editione rectè ponitur.

CAP. XXVIII.

Vers. 3, Vox ואעבר sic primum fuerat conscripta; sed, ut indicaretur eam debuisse legi ואבער, litera א posita est supra literam ב, et ב supra ע, quo innuitur ב priorem locum assignandum esse. Hoc illi, qui vocales addidit, imputandum videtur, quandoquidem juxta hanc transpositionem punctata videtur. In MS. itaque vox hæc sic occurrit ואבא עבר.

CAP. XXIX.

Vers. 16, Targumista nihil annotat de voce לטהר; neque *vers.* 5, de בחדש הראשין. *Vers.* 17, תנינא ponitur pro תמניא. *Vers.* 29, דמשבחין absque dubio legi debet משבחין, vel משתבחין. *Vers.* 31, aliquid deest.

CAP. XXX.

Vers. 2, וכלהון ישראל non extat in textu Hebraïco. *Vers.* 5, מדן ועד באוא דשבע : hic ordo verborum Hebraïcorum inversus est. *Vers.* 6, forsitan hic voluit scribere ויתובלות. *Vers.* 8, vox ליהוה non est expressa, neque *vers.* 15, vox והלוים. *Vers.* 18, ultimum verbum debuerat indubiè scribi דאשתליאו.

CAP. XXXII.

Vers. 1, Incertus sum quid sibi velit לשיתהון, in fine hujus versus, nec quid significetur per לאששא. *Vers.* 7, videtur ועלוון pro ועלמו positum esse, ita ut מ visum fuerit duplex Vau, et Nun finalis litera Vau esse. Idem forsan in primo versu observare licet. *Vers.* 18, prius מטול videtur superfluum esse. *Vers.* 22, prius ושיצו videtur erratum esse. *Vers.* 30, מרי ponitur pro מיי vel מי. *Ibid.* במרובין videtur vitiosum esse. *Vers.* 28, ואצטבליין videtur esse loco לאצבליין; sic enim melius cum Hebraïco conveniet.

CAP. XXXIII.

Vers. 3, כל ante במסיא apud Hebræos locum non habet. Et ועבד in fine ejus versus accipitur, prout in Hebraïcis significat. *Vers.* 5, ד superfluum est in דדרת. *Vers.* 11, tuo auxilio mihi opus est, ut verba בכידו מנקייא benè interpreter. *Vers.* 12, vox מולוות æquè obscura est, ac modo memorata verba; in alia tamen forma est מולתא *vers.* 13. *Vers.* 13, ואמרו videtur positum pro ואחדו. Illud Talmudicam narrationem respicere videtur; unde tamen desumta sit nescio. Aliam hic vocem רמזא non translatam servavi, ut tuum de eo judicium expiscarer. *Vers.* 24, versus hic in Hebraïco et Chaldaïco textu cum præcedenti, ceu idem versus, conjungitur.

CAP. XXXIV.

Vers. 3, Ex Hebraïco verti "A duodecimo anno" Chaldaïcus textus legit, "a decimo sexto anno." *Vers.* 7, in Hebraïco MS. legitur וישב, quod concinit cum Targum ויתב, "Mansit, consedit." *Vers.* 27, דע in principio videtur superfluum. *Vers.* 32, דעבדו positum videtur pro ועבדו, et בקיימא pro בקימא.

CAP. XXXV.

Vers. 8, Forsan נסכתא legi debet, ut in præcedenti versu נכסתא. Non satis percipio, quomodo boves et oves in libamina sacrificari potuerint. *Vers.* 12, Hebraïcum לבקר, quamvis sic in MS. hoc legatur, vertitur, ac si idem esset cum לבקד; quod similiter factum est in Græca, Syriaca, et Arabica translatione. *Vers.* 13, non reperio ullibi מלואיה eo sensu, ut hic, usurpatum. מוליתא *Buxtorfio* vertitur "Pastela, Artocreas." Non possum definire, an שולוח, vel מולתא, quod cap. xxxiii. 12, 13, huc respiciat. *Vers.* 15, אהרן ponitur pro אסף. *Vers.* 25, תימן poni videtur pro מתיבין. Et *vers.* 27, כוליה pro טליה.

LETTER LIV.

Theodore Haak to Dr. Lightfoot.*

Sir,

Having missed you once or twice in London, with intent to have shewed you these enclosed pages of Dr. *Alting*, about his *Shiloh*, which he, it seems, intends for the public, to have your opinion whether the matter, at least as he projects the same in this *Synopsis*, have any thing new or extraordinary, or deserve encouragement or not; for if he should not "portare singulare aliquid," I would then wish him to forbear coming abroad with it. Sir, I should be glad to know when your occasions may draw you hither, and to confer a little further with you, both about this and some other things and friends abroad, whom your learned labours have made acquainted with your worth, whereof there goes also another testimony here inclosed. If your leisure may spare a word of advertisement in answer hereunto, you may direct it to myself, to be left at Westminster, in King-street, at the Rhenish Wine house. Praying God to multiply his blessings more and more upon you, I rest, Sir, your worship's Most humble and affectionate

Servant,

Westminster, 31st March, 1659. Theodore Haak.

* *Theodore Haak* was born in 1605, at Newhausen, in the Palatinate. He studied at Oxford, after which he was ordained deacon, but relinquished the ministry; and in the rebellion, adhered to the parliament. He was one of the institutors of the Royal Society, and died in London, in 1690. He translated the Dutch Annotations of the Bible.

LETTER LV.

Hoboken to Dr. Lightfoot.*

V. Cl. Dr. Lightfoot, etc.

Vir Clarissime,

Dubio procul mirabere, quòd incognitus quid literularum sub oculos tuos mittendo molestus sim. Audacem me facit humanitas de te concepta, amorque tuus erga Literariæ rei studiosos; occasionem præbet vir eruditissimus D. Theod. Haackius amicus vester (cujus sub literis meæ latent); instigat denique amor Philologiæ sacræ. Verbo autem. Placuit nuper Theologo clarissimo et meritissimo D. *Gisb. Voetio* Literis suis in cæteris exprimere mihi complacentiam (excuset me tua humanitas, quòd tibimet dicam sinceritatis amans), quam hausit tuis ex *Illustrationibus Geographicis* etc. ex *Thalmudicis* erutis; ita tamen, ut spe largiori frui desideret plura Lucubrationum ejusmodi tuarum videndi. Hic enim genius Doctissimi viri est; ut quod per se, Theologiæ puræ Ministerii que aliorum que negotiis occupatissimum, fieri posse non videt (et sane, si

Non omnia possumus omnes:

quî hic omnia?), per alios effici aveat intimè. Quò itaque maximè laudabili studio Viri illius meritissimi responsione quâdum inservire possim; habeam quæso planius aliquod vestri instituti, editorumque (et si quæ alia Claritati tuæ in promptu sint, aut nota) documentum.

Si vicissim, vir clarissime, ullo in casu tuis commodis inservire opellâ meâ meorumve valeam, exiges jure à

Tuæ Claritatis observantissimo cultore

Nicolao Hoboken, Ultrajectino.

Raptim West-Monasterii, in Darby house, dabam die { 30 Martii, / 9 April, } 1659.

L. A. M. Phil. Doct. et Excell. D. Legato D. Wilhelmo Nieupoort à Secretis.

Reverendo et Clarissimo Viro Dno Johanni Lightfoot, S. S. Theol. Doctori, et Aulæ Catharinensis Magistro, Cantabrigiæ.

* *Hoboken* was secretary to the Dutch ambassador.

LETTER LVI.

Buxtorf to Dr. Lightfoot.*

[See *Leusden's* Edition, vol. iii. p. 170.]

Viro admodum reverendo et clarissimo, D. Johanni Lightfooto, Theologo Anglo celeberrimo, etc. Domino suo honoratissimo.

S. P. Vir admodum reverende et clarissime,
Domine honoratissime.

Ex quo Horas tuas Hebraicas et Talmudicas in Matthæum vidi et legi, cœpi te amare, et pro merito æstimare. Tantam enim in eis Talmudicæ lectionis peritiam, et ad illustrationem S. S. Literarum dexteritatem, tantam etiam diligentiam et accurationem in illis deprehendi, ut non potuerim non te magnifacere, et in admirationem tui rapi. Raræ hæ dotes hoc nostro sæculo in viris Theologis, rari hujusmodi Scriptores, qui nil nisi suas proprias observationes Lectoribus proponunt. Unde ab eo tempore desiderium me tenuit, ob studiorum communionem, propius tecum conjungi, et familiarius te noscere, tibique innotescere, si modo occasio aliqua commoda se offerret. Hanc mihi suppeditavit nuper insignis et eruditus juvenis D. *Fridericus Mieg*, viri amplissimi et nobilissimi D. *Joh. Lodovici Mieg*, Serenissimi Electoris Palatini Comitiani et Vicecancellarii, filius, meus antehâc in Hebraicis, Rabbinicis, Chaldaicis, etc. per multos menses discipulus, harum literarum cultor summus, nunc ab anno aut sesquianno in Anglia degens. Scripsit ille mihi nuper Londino, sibi in animo esse Cantabrigiam se conferre: et quia vel illic, vel non procul inde agas, impense desiderare, ut accessum aliquem ad te habere possit, et ex tua eruditione ac conversatione quoque doctior evadere. Itaque obnixe me rogavit, ut συστατικαῖς meis instruatur, non dubitans, illas tibi gratas, sibi summopere utiles. Quamvis autem hactenus per literarium commercium nulla mihi intercesserit familiaritas ; tamen eam de tua humanitate fiduciam concepi, ut sperem, amicam hanc salutationem tibi non fore ingratam, neque tuas Musas a Gratiis

**John Buxtorf*, born 1564, was Professor of Chaldee and Hebrew at Basil, where he died, in 1629.

esse alienas. Et tanto amore complector prædictum juvenem, ob ejus pietatem, modestiam, eruditionem, morum comitatem, aliasque virtutes, ut quicquid in ipsum confertur, in me vel meos collatum existimem: nec dubitem illum quibusvis bonis et doctis se commendabilem redditurum. Ea denique cum D. parente ejus mihi intercedit amicitia, ut nec ipsi, nec filio quicquam denegare possim.

Quod si ergo hæc epistola tam felix sit, ut, ad manus ejus perlata, ab ipso tibi offeratur, denuo rogo, ut serena fronte eum excipias, benevolum ei ad te accessum indulgeas, familiaremque in conversationem admittas: nec molestus, nec importunus, nec ingratus erit. Ego vicissim tibi, Vir clarissime, vel iis, qui nomine tuo ad me sunt venturi, omnem benevolentiam omniaque officia offero, et bona fide spondeo. Retulit ille mihi, Observationes quoque tuas in Marcum, prioribus similes, prodiisse: quas spero proximas nundinas Francofurtenses nobis allaturas. Ad me et mea studia quod attinet, non multa amplius spondere possum in usum publicum: quia cum ætate accrescente vires animi ac corporis decrescunt, alacritati languor, τῇ φιλοπονίᾳ nescio quæ segnities succedit: infirmitates crebriores diligentiam et conatus omnes vel impediunt, vel morantur. Hac hyeme nihil sub prelo habeo. Si vita et valetudo respondeant, forte æstate proxima aliquid aggrediar cum Deo. Desiderantur Exemplaria Tiberiadis parentis mei. Ea forte proxime recudetur, cum quibusdam meis additamentis. Sed nolo hac vice esse prolixior. Ubi intellexero has tibi gratas fuisse, et ubi locorum deges, vel qua occasione literas ad te curare possim, habebis D. V. brevi alias, easque prolixiores, et magis familiares. Itaque his te bono publico diu feliciterque valere ex animo voveo. Dabam Basilea, 12. Decemb. ann. 1663.

Reverendæ tuæ dignitati omni cultu,
observantia, et officio addictiss.
Johannes Buxtorfius.

LETTER LVII.

[See *Leusden's* Edition, vol. iii. p. 171.]

Illustrissimo excellentissimoque viro D. D. Johanni Buxtorfio, etc. Basileæ.

Vir illustrissime, admodum reverende, et
mihi colende summe semperque.

Literas tuas accepi gratissimas, Domine honoratissime, in quibus perspicio plane, quantus sis humanitate, affabilitate, animi candore, et humilitate: prout perspectum jamdudum habuit mecum totus Orbis Christianus, quantus sis literatura et eruditione. Nihil gratius exoptatiusve ad manus meas vel pervenit unquam, vel potest pervenire, quam tales literæ à tali viro: et effari quidem non possum, quanta cum lætitia, animi gratitudine, imo et candoris tui admiratione, eas acceperim. Nam ego adeo tenuitatis vilitatisque meæ mihi conscius, ut non possim non admirari, idque cum summa humanitatis tuæ veneratione, virum tantum dignari literas dare ad me tantillum, imo et alias spondere de futuro. Accipe a me, obsecro, gratiarum actionem quam possum maximam, quam possum sincerissimam. Et sicut per præsentium literarum favorem et dignationem in æternum me tibi devinxisti, omni officio atque observantia devotissimum, pergat porro, obnixe rogo, reverenda tua dignitas me etiam atque etiam literis tuis honorare, lætificare, beare.

Quo favore si me dignabitur venerandus Dominus, mittantur quæso literæ Londinum; et si earum inscriptioni subscribatur, ut deponantur Londini apud M. *Simonem Miller* Bibliopolam ad insigne Stellæ in Cœmeterio Paulino, non dubito quin quod ad me sint perventuræ.

Non parvum specimen candoris et bonitatis tuæ exhibuisti, Vir clarissime, cum Horas meas Hebraicas, rudem molem et indigestam, non dedignatus fueris in manus tuas sumere et legere cum aliqua frontis serenitate, et judicium de iis ferre cum aliqua approbatione. Non contigit mihi unquam quidquam, quod magis studia mea solaretur atque animaret: infimus ego in infima classe Literatorum, cum tu in suprema sedeas summus: et tantum virum me meaque tam amice respicere velle, et me debitorem humanitati

tantæ reddit, et non pœnitere de studiis facit. Placet honoratissimo Domino de peritia mea in Talmudicis loqui, quæ, si qua est, [quæ scio quam sit exigua] tota tibi ipsi referenda est, et incomparabili parenti tuo. "Bobus vestris arans" sementem feci [Lexicis vestris usus], et si provenit messis aliqua, debetur vobis. Et quisnam quæso Christianus, qui evolvit Talmudica, non tenetur eodem tributo? Tantum debet totus Orbis Christianus magno nomini *Buxtorfiano*. Dolendum ergo est illud et non sine lachrymis legendum, quod scribis in fine epistolæ, de ingruente et premente senectute, et quod non multum amplius spondere potes in usum publicum. Avertat Deus omen et fortunam, et diutissime te vivacem et vegetum in universæ Reip. Literariæ commodum conservet. Canesco et ego et senesco ; at, quod plurimæ misericordiæ Dei humiliter tribuo et adscribo, nihil, quod studia impediat, vel ab oculis, vel ab animo, sentio: et quidem studendo solor senectutem. At quid jam agam, prompte certe effari non possum. Exasciavi paucis ab hinc annis Commentariolum in Epist. primam S. Pauli ad Corinth. eodem stylo modoque quo istum in Matthæum, convocatis ad explicationem Talmudicis: delituit apud me opusculum illud per biennium et amplius, nec in publicum possum edere nisi propriis sumptibus et magno meo damno, quod nimium sensi in editione libelluli mei in S. Marcum. Progressum aliquem feci in Evangelio Lucæ, quo in Matthæi et Marci, pede eodem, sed cudere nihil possum nisi proprio dispendio. Unde ego lectioni totum me jam addico, et de scribendo vix quidem cogito. Hebetarunt aciem meam Typographi et Bibliopolæ nostri, qui librum nullum, præsertim Latinum, cudere volunt, nisi in quo appareat, sitque legibile, lucrum non modicum sibi ipsis accrescens. Sed nihil est, si sileat agrestis, tenuis, et inutilis avena mea; at toti Europæ lugendum foret, si cessaret nobilissimus calamus Reverentiæ tuæ Literatis omnibus a multis retro annis utilissimus. Fatum avertat bonus Deus, avertetque, spero, propitius orbi Christiano.

Insignissimus juvenis D. *Frid. Mieg*, qui literas tuas ad me tulit, ἐπιστολαῖς συστατικαῖς opus non habet omnino: ipse secum et in se suas portat semper et ubique. Ea est ille morum probitate, modestia, comitate, suavitate, addita omnibus admiranda eruditione, ac si promerendis hominibus videretur natus. Dicam serio et bona fide, et ô si audiret

parens ejus nobilissimus, me, ex quo Cantabrigiam primum novi, neminem unquam vidisse transmarinum eò adventantem, qui magis foret in deliciis universæ Academiæ, benevolentiamque ejus magis captaret, atque in quem sereniori vultu ea respiceret. Non dubito quin quod, cum ad vos accesserit, laudaturus sit humanitatem erga se Academicorum: quod dum facit, se ipsum quidem et merita sua laudat, ob quæ tam charus ille Academiæ. Catharinenses mei supra modum eum diligunt, et societate ejus plurimum sunt usi et lætati: atque omnes absentem jam desideramus. Reddat eum propitius Deus incolumem amplexibus tuis, et suorum.

Lætor admodum de nova recusione Tiberiadis illico futura, cum tuis additamentis, grassante nimium opinione ista, quæ veritatem Hebraicam deturbare conatur de throno suo, ut ejus vice succedat Versio Græca. Controversiam ego istam nuper pro modulo meo penitius introspexi, et Versionem istam ea de causa perlegi: et ignoscat Dominus honoratissimus, si prolixiori epistola molestiam tibi suscitem, enarrando quid tenuitati meæ in ista re videatur, erudiri a te cupiens quo nemo mortalium potest me erudire melius. Audax, fateor, sum nimis, quod nugas meas tam perspicaci oculo audeam proponere; sed ignoscet humanitas tua, si errare libenter nolens oraculum tuum adeam, ut ab errore revocer, si modo a me erretur.

I. Ergo, ut ab historia exordiar, credibilior mihi videtur longe historia Talmudicorum de LXXII. plana, humilis, et in ignominiam gentis aliqualiter loquens, [quod apud Auctores istos occurrit raro] quam ista Josephi, flatuosa, jactabunda, et, ut omnia ejus, in laudem gentis conjurata.

II. Non facile est eruere ex narratione Talmudicorum LXXII. Græce vertisse omnino. Ex introductione in istam historiam in Megill. fol. 9. 1. videtur aliquid quidem tale innui, dicente R. *Juda*, Non permiserunt Magistri, ut transcriberentur Libri Sacri Græce, nisi de libro Legis tantum ומשום מעשה דתלמי המלך. At quæro, an transcriptio ista fuerit lingua Græca, an characteribus tantum Græcis: quod et ab Origene factum in suis Octaplis.

III. Nam cum mentionem habeant Talmudici de tredecim locis ab iis in Lege immutatis, planum mihi est immutationem istam non fuisse in versione, sed in ipsa transcriptione Hebraicorum Hebraice: ast an literis Græcis an Hebræis non dixerim. Inter plura, quæ me in hanc sententiam cogunt,

vox ואמונ in Exod. 24, rem mihi ponit extra omnem controversiam.

IV. Detur eos Græcè vertisse, at Mosen tantum; atque unde ergo Versio Prophetarum et Hagiographorum?

V. Non possum ego quidem non suspicari, Versionem Græcam opus fuisse Synhedrii Hierosolymitani, hac ratione. Cum nullibi terrarum nisi suis legibus, vivere vellent Judæi, nec hoc à prudentibus Principibus facilè obtineri posset, nisi prius iis notum foret, quænam essent istæ leges, non potuit Synhedrium illud sanius consultiusve saluti et incolumitati gentis atque optionum suarum prosperitati providere, quam Libros Sacros vertendo in linguam vulgarem; quæ Versio in Synhedriis et Synagogis reponenda erat ut symbolum et tessera legum et religionis Judaicæ, si quando efflagitaretur, ostendenda Gentilibus. Exarata ergo est ista Versio non ut pura Bibliorum interpretatio, sed quæ inserviret et satis esset ad obturanda ora Ethnicorum.

VI. Parum ergo me movet argumentum illud, Amanuenses sacri in N. Test. Versionem istam sequuntur ferè ubique, ergo Versio ista est canonica. Respondere in promptu est, Non ἐκ συγκαταβάσεως id factum ab Evangelistis et Apostolis, sed ex necessitate: quippe quod non alia forent Biblia quam Græca, in quibus allegationes è V. Test. ab iis citatas examinare possent Gentiles; et si cavillarentur Judæi, quod ab iis recederetur a Textu Hebræo, responderi posset, Hæc ipsissima sunt Biblia, quæ vos vertistis et mundo proposuistis ut symbolum et tesseram religionis et professionis vestræ.

VII. Observo Versionem *Aquilæ* Græcam citari a Gemaristis Hieros. aliquoties: at non memini me unquam observasse, vel comperisse Versionem τῶν ὁ citatam vel ab illis, vel a Babylonicis; [quid de hac re observarit Reverentia tua, impertias obsecro] quod me in opinione mea corroborat magis, Versionem scil. istam exaratam fuisse, non ut commendaretur Judæis, sed ut obtruderetur Ethnicis.

VIII. In ipsa Versione, quicunque tandem fuerint ejus Auctores, præter infinita illa, quæ planissime recedunt a fonte Hebræo, hæc quatuor, si non fallar, possunt observari. 1. Caveri ab ea, ut, quantum fieri potuit, Libri Sacri redderentur absque cavillatione Ethnicorum. 2. Ut emollirentur quædam, quæ genti Judaicæ possent officere, vel quoad pacem, vel quoad famam suam, quæve offensionem parere possent Gentilibus. 3. Ut mysteria et nuda veritas Librorum

Sacrorum quam minime patefierent, et ne sancta projicerentur canibus Ethnicis. 4. Si me non fallat judicium meum, comperio multoties loca, ubi Versio ista ex instituto videatur patrocinari ineptis aliquibus gentis traditionibus et opinionibus: quod plurimis exemplis, ni halluciner, posset probari. Ita ut quamvis non dubitem prodiisse eam ante tempora Christi, quæro tamen an attigerit tempora *Ptol. Philadelphi.*

Sed quid ego hæc tenuia et inculta propono viro in hac controversia omnium mortalium exercitassimo? Hac scilicet ratione, ut ab eo edocear et corrigar, ubi vel erro vel cæcutio. Ignosce, Vir clarissime, audaciæ meæ, ignosce prolixitati. Ob distantiam locorum non frequentes possunt intercurrere inter nos literæ: et ego summa tua humanitate et affabilitate animatus, hac occasione sum usus, [ne quid opportunitatis excideret] ut in hac re judicium et sententiam tuam implorarem, proximis ad me literis referendam. In publica commoda pecco, te nugis meis detinens a studiis gravioribus: ignosce, Vir clarissime, ignosce. Deus optimus maximus amplexibus suis suavissimis te semper foveat, senectutem tuam omnimodis solatiis refocillet, studiis adsit, et quam diutissime Christiano Orbi et Reipublicæ Literariæ te incolumem conservet. Ex animo hæc vovet vovebitque semper,

Domine honoratissime,

Reverendæ tuæ dignitati, summæ humanitati,
et eruditioni, omni officio, observantia,
veneratione addictissimus et
devotissimus,

JOHANNES LIGHTFOOT.

Dabam ex ædibus meis, Mundoniæ magnæ,
Calend. Februar. $166\frac{3}{4}$.

Sententiam meam tenuem de Versione Græca liberius audaciusque protuli, ideo quod aliquando in animo habuerim aliquid de ea edere, si daretur; et quod acutissimo judicio tuo vellem de ista re instrui.

Misi Commentariolum meum in S. Marcum, Londinum, ad Dominum *Mieg* ad manus perferendum, si commode ab eo fieri possit. Inique admodum in eo mecum egit incuria Typographi.

LETTER LVIII.

Mieg to Dr. Lightfoot.*

[*Leusden's* Edition, vol. iii. p. 174.]

Admodum reverendo et celeberrimo viro, Domino Johanni Lightfooto, S. S. Theol. Doctori, et Aulæ Catharinensis in alma Cantabrigiensi Academia Præsidi, Domino et Fautori honorando.

Admodum reverende atque celeberrime Domine, Fautor, et Patrone summopere colende.

Vix temeritatis notam effugere potero, anticipando eam, quam prioribus meis literis à te petere ausus fui, literas ad te dandi permissionem. Sed è contrà vix ingratitudinis maculam, tot tua in me, seu præsentem, seu absentem, beneficia silentio sepeliendo. Neque enim illa Principi nostro, patri, amicis, aliis deprædicando, officio meo satisfecisse mihi videor, nisi tibi me debitorem subinde sistam, solvendo quidem imparem, at solvendi tamen cupidum; beneficiorum quidem immerentem, at non immemorem. Accedit ambitio quædam favorem tuum, thesauro contrà non æstimandum, conservare studiosa: nullamque adeo ejus fovendi occasionem prætermissura, si sui solum, et non tuarum etiam occupationum rationem habendam existimaret. Enimvero pretiosas istas Horas sæpius interpellare religioni ducit. Neque adeo sibi amica est, ut publico inimica sit. Publicos enim illos labores non vereor appellare, quos in publicum Literarii Orbis commodum redundare, nemo est qui ignoret. Certe, Reverende Domine, nemo est Doctorum, quos novi, in his Cismarinis regionibus, qui, quas in primam ad Corinthios Epistolam paratas habes Horas Hebraïco-Talmudicas, non summis anhelitibus videre desideret. Ausim addere, Nemo quinetiam est Typographorum Germanorum, qui non impressionem libri tam pretiosi lubens in se suscipere volet.

Liceat igitur meas tibi preces, imo preces omnium, quotquot isthæc amant studia, reïterare, ut lucem non invideas scripto luce dignissimo; neque illud intra privatos parietes consenescere sinas, unde tantum imminet publico emolumentum. Sed non animadverto, quorsum audaciæ delabar, qui

* *Frederick Mieg*, son to a Great Counsellor of the Elector Palatine, was educated by *Buxtorf* in Hebrew and Rabbinical studies.

isthæc ad te, prudentissimum agendorum omittendorumque judicem. Certum mihi apud humanitatem tuam refugium est; à qua et temeritatem meam excusatum, et imperfectionem gratitudinis condonatum iri sperare audeo. Atque ita quidem firmiter, ut pro aliis etiam favorem tuum implorare non erubescam,—eo nimirum, qui istas tibi exhibiturus est, viro, cum in aliis studiis, tum linguis etiam Orientalibus exercitatissimo, D. *Knorr* Silesio: qui in Angliam proficiscens, tui, ceu luminis non solum Angliam illustrantis, videndi atque adeundi incredibili desiderio tenetur. Idem Germanicarum Academiarum statum apprime callens, eundem tibi depinget. Qua spe fretus, isto labore supersedeo. Teque, Vir reverende, Divinæ tutelæ commendatum, quam diutissime valere jubeo.

Reverentiæ tuæ

observantissimus cultor,

Dab. Lugd. Batav. d. $\frac{4}{14}$ Maji. 1664.

Fridericus Mieg.

LETTER LIX.

Dr. Worthington to Dr. Lightfoot.*

Sir,

Though my distance and removal from Cambridge hath hindered me from seeing you, and converse with you, yet you are not distant from my thoughts and affections; and sometimes [two of your friends in the parish of Ben'et Fynk (where I preach for the present), I mean old Mr. *Steventon* and his wife, and I, do speak of you, who also desired me to present their respects to you. That which doth occasion my writing to you at this time, is something which relates to Josephus, an author that you are well versed in. I have often thought him as considerable, and as worthy of a better edition, as any Greek author I know. *Cunæus*, *Grotius*, and others did seem to promise such an edition; but *Grotius* did depend wholly upon *Petitus* (a learned man at Nismes) for

* *John Worthington* was born at Manchester in 1618: he was educated at Emmanuel-College, Cambridge, where he was elected to a fellowship, and took his doctor's degree in divinity. He afterwards became master of Jesus-College, which he held till the restoration, when he was presented to the cure of St. Ben'et Fynk, London; and after the fire of London, to the rectory of Ingoldsby, in Lincolnshire; from whence he removed to Hackney, where he died, 1671.

that undertaking, *Petitus* having made a good progress in it; and he was furnished by *Peiresc* and *Sarravius* with several manuscripts; and *Lucas Holstenius* sent him a note of various readings, from Rome, having compared several manuscripts in the Vatican. *Petitus* died, and hath left two books, in folio, very fairly written, of his labours upon Josephus. There is also a Latin Translation, an Explication of the Jewish Antiquities out of both the Talmuds, Moses Maimonides, R. Alphes, and other Rabbins, together with a comparing of Moses' laws with the Roman laws; a resolution of doubts, relating to chronology or topography; an account of the various emendations by comparing of MSS.; with other matters relating to history and philology. *Petitus* did not quite finish all: had he lived three months longer, he thought to have despatched it: yet I thought it was pity all his labours and pains should die with him, or should go into the enemies' hands; for the Jesuits, &c. would fain purchase them, and enrich themselves with these spoils: but hitherto his executors have resisted that temptation. They ask a great sum for them (great for scholars to raise, but little for gentlemen, or some clergymen that are in dignities and high places),—the sum is two hundred pistoles. I have endeavoured to move some to so good and noble a charity; but some have no great zeal for learning, others are tenacious. I know not yet what will be the issue.—I heard that another Protestant *(Le Moine)* preacher at Rouen, (and one of more than ordinary fame for learning), had travailed in the same design of setting forth Josephus; and upon my sending to him, he wrote to me as if it were almost ready; and desires me, if I can impart any thing for the benefit of this edition, I would write to him. I went to St. James's library, where I had heard that there was a Greek Josephus (printed at Basil), in the margins whereof *Isaac Casaubon* had written some various readings, which he had gathered out of MSS., some conjectures and hints of his own, and of *Patrick Young's:* all these I wrote out, which made at least three sheets, close written, most in Greek, and sent them to *Le Moine*. And (that I may come to the business of this letter) if you have any hints or short observations upon some doubtful passages in Josephus, they would be very acceptable to Mons. *Le Moine*, who professeth a readiness to testify his thankful resentment thereof by a worthy mention

of such benefactors. I told him that you had, in your Centuria Chorographica before *St. Matthew*, occasion to speak to several places in Josephus: and I suppose you have some other memorials which you have not published. Since that piece, I hear you had done upon *Mark*, and upon 1 Epist. *Corinth.*, and I wish you length of life, health, vacancy, and freedom for what remains. I hope that you are still proceeding, and are not weary in well-doing; though books sell but little; those that are able to buy, less mind books; and those that would buy, are less able; having little to spare from what is necessary for their families. But your labour will not be in vain in the Lord, nor here neither. It is not only my opinion, but the sense of others, that if you would stay to publish more at a time, as your next volume to contain *Luke* and *John*, it would be better in many respects; then, after you have finished the four *Evangelists*, the *Acts* (whereon you have bestowed some pains before) and the Epistle to the *Romans* would make another volume; and then your works would meet at the Epistle to the *Corinthians:* but if you should think the work would be too long to go on through all the Epistles after that to the *Corinthians;* yet methinks the Epistle to the *Hebrews* cannot be out of your more especial remembrance, the matter of it being so suitable to your Hebrew studies.

I lately saw a stitched book in quarto, in French, called *Pourtrait du Temple de Salomon*, printed at Amsterdam 166$\frac{4}{4}$ (but the book is not common); the author, *Jacob Juda Leon*, a Jew, dwelling at Middleburgh in Zealand, who had also a model of the Temple done with great art and elegancy, as I have heard from some that saw it; for that Jew made a piece of a livelihood by shewing it.—In this book he speaks very particularly of what relates to the Temple, &c.; but he quotes not his authors.

Dr. *Castell* is returned to London, and is preparing for his his great work. I have been speaking with him about procuring a Maimonides for me; but I tell him I cannot buy books as formerly; but I have some Hebrew books to change, a Zohar in folio, &c. (which is a scarce book). He tells me that M. *Athias* the Jew is dead of the plague, by whose means he was used to procure such books. I have cause to bless God for his merciful preservations during this great visitation, having been surrounded with many dangers; but I

did not refrain from preaching at Ben'et Fynk all the time, though I do but officiate there "pro tempore."

I suppose you have seen or heard of some small pieces of one T. L., as, *The Voice out of the Wilderness*, and *An Exposition of Revelation*, chap. xii. and xiii. with other tracts about the downfall of Rome in 1666 (though I think he will prove to be mistaken therein). He lived in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and at last betook himself to a shepherd's life. It is said that he was a Shropshire man by birth, and that T. L. stands for *Toby Littleton*. Did you ever hear of any such tradition in the country?

There are some passages in Josephus which I thought (if I had at any time met you in London) to have spoken with you about, or written to you, but I cannot now recal them, because I have not seen my books for these two years and more. For when I removed from Ditton, I left my books there, and thought to have sent for them to the place I had bestowed on me in Suffolk; but finding that place inconvenient, I resigned it, and cannot think of removing my library, till God in his good Providence open some way for settlement. I have lived most of my time in, or near the university, where I wish I had been more serviceable. God grant that I may redeem my time wherever I am. Nothing is more desirable than to be near good books and ingenuous scholars; that I may be putting them upon doing some good, that we may live profitably in the world. But God's holy will be done as to any thing that concerns me.—Only one passage of Josephus comes into my mind; it is in his *de bello Judaico*, l. cap. 18, that when the Romans shot great stones out of their engines, those Jews that were on the walls, and were ordered to signify when the stones (which were white) were shot off, used to cry, *Filius venit:* what should they mean by this (*Filius venit*) upon this occasion? It is true, the Son of Man came against them remarkably in the destruction of those his enemies, who would not have him to reign over them.

I should be glad to receive a few lines from you about this particular, and whether *Abendana* hath finished at least the first part of the *Sedarim*.—I hear that Dr. *Pocock* is desired to publish a collection of the oriental proverbs, and that he hath gathered about *seven thousand*. *Bee* is preparing for a tenth volume of Criticks, which shall contain an index to the

whole; and he would also print some tracts, not over large, that may be of use for illustrating some parts of Scripture; and upon his desire, I have thought upon sixteen or seventeen treatises not printed in the former volumes.

There is lately published by Mr. *Pool* (sometime my pupil in Emmanuel-College), a notable book against the Papists, styled, *The Nullity of the Romish Faith.* And whereas one *Serjeant* hath, with huge confidence, published a book* for *tradition,* its being the rule of faith, rather than the Scripture; there is an exact piece in answer to it, by Mr. *Tillotson,* with an appendix of Mr. *Stillingfleet's,* now in the press, and will be extant the next week.

But I have tired you with too large a letter. It is time for me to conclude. So commending you and your studies to the blessing of the Almighty, I rest

Yours, to serve you,

Feb. 13, $166\frac{5}{6}$.

Jo. Worthington.

I desire my friends, when they write to me, to direct their letters to me, to be left at Mr. *Royston's,* at the Angel, in Ivy-Lane, London, and then they will come safe to me.

For my reverend friend, Dr. Lightfoot, these, at Much-Munden, in Hertfordshire.

LETTER LX.

From the same.

Sir,

Yours I received, and thank you for your kind letter, which I had sooner answered (for I love not to delay in such cases), but that I waited for an account of *Petit's* Josephus (which I knew would be acceptable to you), and I received it not till last Thursday; at which time I spake with a friend newly come out of France, who made a journey to Nismes, and saw the MS. in two fair folios, neatly written, with five or six new maps of *Petit's* contriving. His widow asked two hundred pistoles for it; and now our work is here to procure some benefactors to so public a good work, and

* Called "Sure-footing," &c.

we hope that we shall succeed; but it must be done by private gentlemen;—no hope of working the booksellers to do it.

I doubt not but when you have your own Josephus returned, you will meet with some observations of your own noted in him. I am sorry for your loss of so near a relation; but your pious resignation to the will of God, after the example, and in the words of old *Eli*, hath enabled you to go through this affliction, and fixed you again in your studies for the public. I am glad that you have made such a progress in Luke and John, and hope it will not be long before you have gone through both: and then your notes upon both Luke and John together will make a handsome volume, and you will then have completed your thoughts upon all the Evangelists. And if any thing should come into your thoughts since, that may befit Matthew or Mark, you may at the end of John print the additions, as *Lud. de Dieu*, who printed his additional observations upon Matthew at the end.

God grant you life, health, quiet, and vacancy to proceed. But when you mention me; I am not idle when I am an ἐργοδιώκτης to persuade others to serve God, and to minister to the public good as they are best fitted and qualified. And though sometimes I wish I might not be altogether asymbolus, in some little services within my abilities; but as it is with me, I know not how to be so serviceable, being taken from the place or nearness to that place where I had an interest in the society of learned men, and might have had the advantage of libraries in that place, which were not unknown to me; having studied in several libraries in the university. And my own library I have not seen almost these three years; it being done up in chests and boxes, and as yet not knowing whither to remove them. If God should dispose of me in some little settlement near to good society, and good books, I would desire not to be unprofitable: but if not, it is fit that I should submit.

Dr. *Castell* intends to go down to Cambridge the week before the commencement, to make a speech, and read an Arabic lecture.—Young *Buxtorf* is now in London, and intends shortly for Cambridge and then for Oxford. Old Mr. *Steventon* desired me again to present his true respects to you.

You have heard long since of Dr. *Spurstow's* death. It was hoped that he would have been a benefactor to your college, but he died without a will. I had no acquaintance with his brother; but I wished one that knew him well, to persuade him to give his library to your college, which would be sold to much loss, if sold; but I hear it is to be sold to a bookseller. No more at present (for I am called away just now), but that I am

Yours, to serve you,

June 12, 1666.

Jo. Worthington.

For his reverend friend, Dr. Lightfoot, &c.

LETTER LXI.

From the same.

Sir,

In June last I sent you a letter, which Dr. *Castell,* with his, sent to you; I hope it came safe to you. The reason of my writing to you now is, that I have lately received from Mons. *Le Moine,* minister to the Protestant Church at Rouen, to whom I had sent three sheets close written, of various readings, and critical conjectures, of *Isaac Casaubon* and *Patrick Young,* written in the Greek Josephus, in St. James's Library, which I transcribed, and numbered the pages and the lines, which was no small pains to me. He rejoiced much in the receiving of them, as being a good advantage to him in his designed edition of Josephus: he is looked upon as one of the most learned men in France. In his letter to me, he makes an honourable mention of you (for I had told him that your works might be useful to him, and he thus signifies his sense of them); speaking of his Notes and Exercitations upon Josephus, he saith: [—In iis utor sæpissime Lightfootii Talmudicè doctissimi; quem si inter Philebræorum familiam Ducem dixero, nihil certe dixero quod assurgat ultra meritum eruditissimi illius viri. Quæ de Templo, de Chorographia sacra in Matthæum, in Actus, eruditè et feliciter conscripsit, diu est quod illa possideo, iisque

præclaris operibus Bibliotheca mea superbit. Siquid præterea vulgaverit, juxta cum ignarissimis scio—]. This clause of his I thought fit to insert, that you may see what value of your labours worthy men and strangers have. I do not know what else you have published, except that upon Mark, and, I have heard, upon 1 Ep. to Corinth.; but I think that book is at Cambridge. I have not seen it in shops here, and Cambridge is not now to be traded with. If you please to send to this worthy person in France, I shall free you from all trouble about conveyance; for I can send to him by Mr. *Primrose*, minister at the French church, here in London. I wish I knew, in a line, whether my former letter did not miscarry, but arrived safe in your own hands.

Since my last, I hear that the library of Dr. *Spurstow* will not be sold. Dr. *Castell* is now in *Tsadi*. There is a Jew hath some Hebrew books to sell here; there is among them *Rabboth*, &c. I will not trouble you with more lines at this time; but, commending you to your studies and to the blessing of the Almighty (hoping before long you will have finished your notes on Luke and John),

I rest, yours to serve you,

Jo. Worthington.

July 17, 1666.

From Mr. *Royston's*, at the Angel, in Ivy-lane.

For the reverend Dr. Lightfoot, &c.

LETTER LXII.

Sir Thomas Brograve to Dr. Lightfoot.*

Sir,

Returning thanks for your last favour, I have presumed to give you the trouble of these lines. Casting my eye, after your departure from us, on that place, Num. xxxiv. 8, לכדכור דבר זעמא ולכדכוי דבר סניזורא, I found in the marginal notes וכרכוי פ׳ הכרכים הגדולים when the letter ר is placed for ד in the text, there is added to the foregoing

* Sir *Thomas Brograve*, Bart. was of Hertfordshire,—a kinsman and neighbour of *Lightfoot*, and much attached to Hebrew studies.

words in the marginal note כל דברי׳ כאלו דברי קבלה ואכם היא נקבל ונראה שהשמות אלו הם אי״ הים ומדינות שבתוך הים ואשר על שפת הים : *Buxtorf* owneth כדכור to be a city, whether דבר signifieth not "which belongeth unto," I humbly leave to you to determine. The 10th of October is appointed for a Fast all over England. The Dutch, I conceive, are making towards home, without the help of the French ships. These are from,

Sir,

Your respectful friend and servant,

Ham, Sept. 15, 1666.

T. Brograve.

LETTER LXIII.

Dr. Matthew Pool to Dr. Lightfoot.*

Honoured Sir,

I very humbly and heartily thank you for your great favour, in promising me your help for the Historical Books. The Lord requite you.

Sir, I here send you one part, upon Numbers (I shall beg your thoughts upon any thing as you go on). I have since resolved to take in the Scriptures which are quoted in *Bochartus's Geographia* and *de Animalibus*, which are very many, and of great moment; the abbreviations you will find thus: *Bochartus de Animalibus*, B. A. *Bochartus's Geographia*, part I. or *Phaleg*, B. P.; part II. or *Canaan*, B. C. Sir, I meet with opposition from selfish persons in the carrying on of this work; and for the renewal of it, I must do that which is not otherwise handsome, in desiring the testimonials of worthy and known persons. If you please then, Sir, I entreat you, in few lines to signify your opinion of the work in general, and the usefulness of it to the world; and of this work in particular, and whether it be managed with care and impartiality; and (if you think fit) to encourage or

* *Matthew Pool* (or *Poole*) was born at York, 1624; educated at Cambridge. Being ejected, in 1662, from his living of Michael-le-Querne, for non-conformity, he undertook his great work, the "Synopsis Criticorum." *Oates* having included his name in the list of those who were to be taken by the Popish plot, *Pool* retired to Amsterdam, where he died, in 1679.

oblige persons to promote it as they can. Sir, I leave all to you. I hope you will excuse me, if I would not be wanting to use any means to carry it on; and God do his will. I have almost done Numbers. The Lord keep you, and all of us, in his fear and favour.

Sir,

Your exceedingly obliged servant,

M. Pool.

Hackney, Aug. 12, 1667.

Sir, I entreat you (if you can) to send me your testimonial, inclosed in two or three lines to me, by your carrier, next week.

LETTER LXIV.

From the same.

Honoured Sir,

I wrote to you some good while since, but I fear the letter miscarried, because I hear nothing from you. I hold myself highly obliged to you, and therefore it is fit I should give you an account of my business, that Mr. *P.* and I have agreed, of which this enclosed Gazette will inform you. I am to give him the fourth part of the clear profits, and so to proceed uninterruptedly in my work. I am now entering upon Samuel; and had it not been for his opposition and my own additions and many intersertions in the work, I suppose I had been in Job or the Psalms ere this. Sir, I question not you mind your most encouraging and obliging offer and promise of assistance in reference to the historical books of the Old Testament, from Joshua to Job, out of the Rabbins and Talmud. If you want any authors, I shall strain hard to procure them, if you please to acquaint me with their names. I confess there is a world of trash in these authors; but I am sure you can with excellent judgment pick out those things, which either shew the grammar, the words, or phrases, &c. or open the things substantially, letting go their trivial things. If you please to honour me with it, I should be glad to have your solutions out of

them put together under your own name, and by themselves. I beg two lines from you, and rest,

Sir, your much obliged servant,

Sep. 10th, 1668. MAT. POOL.

You may direct your letter for me to Mr. *Thompson*, at the Bishop's Head, in Duck-Lane.

For his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, at Much-Munden, in Hertfordshire.

LETTER LXV.

From the same.

HONOURED SIR,

I HAVE herewith sent you the third volume, as a testimony of my respects and obligations to you for the honour and favour you did me. The last volume affrights me with its growing greatness. I have done about fifty sheets, and yet not done fourteen chapters in Matthew; but by God's help I will not spoil the work; I will rather make myself a sufferer. I intend also a fifth volume of Appendices as "De nummis, ponderibus, mensuris; de Templo, quæstiones Chronologicæ, Chorographicæ, Historicæ, &c." and "Paralipomena, as to places of Scripture not thoroughly explained, &c." Now, Sir, as you were pleased freely to offer me your help, for which I reckon myself much in your debt, the just value I set upon it makes me bold humbly to entreat it, which I think will come in most seasonably in the fifth volume: but how, or wherein you will please to honour me with something which shall bear your name, I submit to your good pleasure and better judgment. If I have it any time within two years, it will come time enough. I have (among other works of yours) your Horæ Hebraicæ on Matthew, Mark, and John; I am sorry Luke hath escaped you. If you have done, or are doing any thing upon it, I entreat your information. This is all at present, but my desire of your earnest prayers for me, from, Sir,

Your most humble and obliged servant,

St. John's Gatehouse, Sept. 23d, 1673. M. POOL.

For his worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot, at Much-Munden, in Hertfordshire.

LETTER LXVI.

From the same.

HONOURED SIR,

I THANK you for your second present. I greedily wait for the succeeding ones. I fear I shall be at a loss. I presume I shall have done with Mark this week. Luke, I hope, will take me up at the most but eight weeks. But I think, however, it will be best to have your sheets as they are printed; and if any come after I have done, to be sure they will come before the press has done, and so I can insert things; though I much rather desire, if possible, to have yours so as to interweave them with the rest. I hope for some more speedily from you, whereby you will add much to the obligations of,

Sir,

Your much obliged servant,

M. POOL.

London, January 7th, 1673.

For his worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER LXVII.

From the same.

HONOURED SIR,

I HAVE here sent to you the first part of the fourth volume of my Synopsis, which I intreat you accept as a testimony of my greater obligations to you. Sir, I hope you remember the promise you were pleased to make me, the thought whereof is delightful to me, viz. in such places as you observe to be most defectively done in my work, to give me some explications to the clearing up of the Hebrew words, or phrases, or matters, as you have many solid and material ones in your Horæ. I am now proceeding in the last part, and hope to have finished my work, if I have health and life, by the end of the next summer. I am also bold to remind you of another thing, "sub sigillo," viz. to speak as you

have occasion, to Sir T. *Brograve's* executors about buying the other volumes to the first: but I leave it to your discretion, and rest,

Sir,

Your very obliged servant,

London Dec. 10, 1674.

M. Pool.

For his worthy friend, Dr. Lightfoot.

LETTER LXVIII.

Dr. Thorndike to Dr. Lightfoot.*

Reverend Sir,

The esteem that I have of your skill in the Jews' writings, carries me to press farther upon you than civility allows me,—to get from you the sum of your judgment concerning *Morinus's* exercitations of them in the second book of his "Exercitationes Biblicæ."

One thing I think he hath hit the truth in; of the original of the Karæi, and the difference between them, either Sadducees or Samaritans; which seems to point at the time when the Talmud was received.

Another thing, which all desired, he hath laboured in more than others—to shew the gross ignorance of the Jews in the history even of their own affairs. And I do confess, I do not see how it can be maintained, that their books were indeed written by those whom they make the authors of them; I would except the Talmud.

For the Misna must needs be as anciently written as is pretended, by the very stile of it, being so roundly and so elegantly couched; though his arguments seem to conclude that it could not be in public authority so soon. And therefore the like may be said of the Gemara. But whereas his opinion seems to tend to deprive us of the use and benefit of their books, by taking away the authority and credit of

* *Herbert Thorndike* was a fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, and had the rectory of Barley, in Hertfordshire. In 1643, he was chosen master of Sidney; but the election was set aside; and he was also deprived of his living by the usurpers: at the restoration, he was made prebendary of Westminster. He assisted *Walton* in his Polyglot. He died in 1672.

them that have done Christianity so much service by illustrating the Scriptures, I do think with myself upon what grounds so ill a consequence may be resisted or prevented. And thus much I think may appear; that so long as we have the books of the New Testament, the Greek translation of the Old, the Apocrypha, Josephus, and Philo, we do not want a test for those things which are found to agree with them in the Jews' writings; and by that agreement to settle us in the intent and meaning of them; and thus far it is no prejudice to the authority of that which we read in them, that we do not know the authors of them. For this agreement assures us, that those things which they write, were in force and practice in those times, whereof we read in others of unquestionable credit: and therefore informs us of the meaning of the Scriptures by the agreement mentioned.

But farther than this, what credit we owe them I would gladly hear, what your great skill will inform us. I confess I am so well satisfied with this, that I do not see that more is necessary. For I reckon, that the Jews of this time are all of them the offspring of the Pharisees. And as we know, that during the times of the New Testament that sect had the vogue, so we know that it had not the public power which the Talmud supposeth it to have; and which it hath over them that own it, by virtue of their owning it; but could not have when other sects besides their own subsisted. And hereupon I gather that great changes must needs have succeeded in the discipline of that sect, from that which was during the time of these writings, by which they are to be tried. And therefore, that it will require judgment to discern what was in force in those times, and what hath altered.

And having so freely laid open my own queries to you, I hope you will in turn give your thoughts of that book, and of the exceptions you make to the position it delivers, which I would so much the rather hear, as I do think they come from greater skill. For I am a stranger to the whole study for almost these six years (when I was best able to judge, and did hope to be better informed), by reason of my indisposition forbidding to meddle with books at all, unless it be very sparingly. Sir, I do earnestly entreat you to excuse this

importunity, and to believe that I shall very thankfully receive what you will be pleased to return, and,

Sir,

Your very humble servant in our Lord,

From the Little Cloister, at Westminster,
May 18, 1669. HERBERT THORNDIKE.

For the reverend Dr. Lightfoot, at Little-Munden, in Hertfordshire.

LETTER LXIX.

Rev. Mr. Calvert to Dr. Lightfoot.*

Reverend and learned Dr.

I HAVE heretofore made bold, by my kinsman Mr. *Radcliff*, to beg your advice about the right position of the priest's portion in the holy square of Ezekiel. I have also made bold to give you the trouble of this other paper; for the former messenger was so hasty, that I could not then impart to you my whole mind: and I am glad that I have yet received no answer from you, till I had digested and represented to you all my thoughts, that you might have the whole to judge of, and to advise me in; which I humbly beg at your good leisure that you would be pleased to do.

Sir,—to tell you the very truth, and to deal ingenuously—neither curiosity, singularity, or any readiness of wit (though I think that a most true saying of the rabbins' "Nullus apex totius Scripturæ in quem non magni pendent montes"), have been at all of my counsel. But I have been so gravelled with divers passages of the prophetical writings, as Isa. xi. Jer. iii. xxx. xxxi. l. Ezek. xvi. xxxvii. Zech. x. which seem plainly to promise the restoration of the ten tribes together with the two, that I made it my work to enquire the truth in this particular; and upon trial I find that it is far

* *James Calvert* was born at York, and educated at Clare-Hall, Cambridge. He had the living of Topcliff, in Yorkshire, of which he was deprived by the act of uniformity in 1662. He died in 1698. He wrote a learned work on the ten tribes.—See vol. i. p. 91.

the more probable opinion, that the ten tribes did return with the two, or not long after them, under the Persian kings; so that all those promises will be found fulfilled in that deliverance from Babylon; nor are the objections at all invincible. This dispute led me into this other labyrinth of Ezekiel's vision, wherein the land is divided among all the twelve tribes; but all being expounded mystically by interpreters, I was never the nearer to any resolution. So I fell upon this other work of trying the grounds of this mystical exposition; and among the rest, this I find to be the principal and invincible, according to the received hypothesis:—for if the Temple be either five or thirty miles distant from the city, there can be no question but that the vision is mystical and not literal:—but if there be an error in the placing of the priests' portion, and that the city and sanctuary may meet together, the greatest objection against the literal sense will be removed; and though there be a great deal of difficulty in answering the rest, especially Ezek. xlii. 16, by turning *reeds* into *cubits*, yet there is much to plead for it; and I know some of the others may have solid answers; and I think your great learning and reading would go very near to satisfy the world, wherein I cannot, for want of that incomparable skill you have in these Jewish antiquities.

Sir, I have waded so far in these things, that I verily think, upon a thorough search and trial, this vision will prove literal (though I deny not the mystical sense,—it may be both for me,—so innocent is my opinion) and historical, and like the rest of the prophesy, having only some things purely figurative and mystical interwoven in it. I wish I could be the instrument to persuade you to undertake this work to satisfy the learned world in these two particulars: it may do exceeding much good in rectifying or commentaries on the prophets, to say no more; and if my notes may do you any service, I will willingly communicate them, and at your desire prepare them for you as far as I have gone; but if your other studies will not suffer it, yet I beseech you, Sir, let me have your advice, especially in this particular, for I [*] bring this matter to some conclusion. [*]

Sir, I do not know your person; but I have both read and heard so much of your excellent learning, and your candid and ingenuous nature, that it emboldens me to write to you thus freely, and to entreat you, that, as you have hitherto

so you would still, make this one great end of your rare learning, to illustrate the Scripture text; that instead of too many aërial and sublime speculations, the church of Christ may be fed with solid food; I mean the simple and sincere meaning of the Holy Ghost, be it history or mystery. Sir, the great distance betwixt you and me has thus exercised your patience with this tedious letter, and made me almost to forget myself: pray, good Sir, pardon me, and reckon me for

Your son and servant
in the work of Christ,
JAMES CALVERT.

York, August 16th, 1669.

LETTER LXX.

Mr. Thomas Bridges to Dr. Lightfoot.

SIR,

WHEN you cast your eye upon the foot of this letter, and read my name, you will wonder at my boldness, that having scarce seen you this forty years, I should give you the trouble of this paper. But though I may now be a stranger to your person, I am not to your labours, which are more my companions than any book but God's. Nor can I so fully acquiesce in any judgment as in yours; nor had I ever the temptation to question almost any thing you have written, save one or two, which I forbear to mention until I see you, which possibly may be ere long. But I have a scruple at present lie upon me; and though I have tumbled those few authors I am master of, yet I cannot give myself satisfaction; and indeed despair of it, unless from your hand. It is in Matthew xxvii. 9, 10, Jeremiah for Zechariah. I know the many ways how it is solved, and like best of Mr. *Mede's* way: and yet the histories of Alexander seem so to suit with Zechariah's prophesy that I am at a stand, and cannot move without your help; which if at your leisure you please to afford me in a line to be left at Northumberland-House, near Charing-Cross, it will find me here. I know you have an excellent discourse upon the Lord's Prayer, but whether published or no, I know not. I hope you are perfecting those

works you have begun, which, with the pardon of this trouble, would be welcome news to your

Humble servant,

THOMAS BRIDGES.

Petworth, June 8th, 1672.

To the Rev. Dr. John Lightfoot, &c.

LETTER LXXI.

Professor Ott to Dr. Lightfoot.*

VIR CLARISSIME,

MIRABERIS forsan, quod ego homo obscurus et juvenis, ad te scribere audeam; sed mirari desines, quando tuam famam considerabis; quæ virtutem et singularem eruditionem tuam, jam per totum orbem ita divulgavit; ut nullus sit bonarum literarum studiosus, qui non animo te colat, et amicitiam tuam ambire studeat. Ego qui minimus in eorum numero sum, semper speravi me tandem id tibi præsenti, ore ad os significare posse. Nec nunc adhuc illâ spe dejectus sum. Interim tamen quod hactenus præsens facere non potui, absens per ceram, linum, literasque interpretes agere constitui; ut aliquâ ratione saltem tibi testificarer, quam sinuoso in pectore te feram, et quantus sim animi virtutisque tuæ cultor. Ego quidem te novi ipse ignotus, sed scies hoc esse virtutis maximum præmium, quod latere suos non sinat. Plurimi sunt qui nondum meruerunt à te cognosci, qui tamen inter alias gentes famam nominis tui exceperunt, et post præclarorum scriptorum tuorum lectionem in cultum tui venerabundi iverunt: te hoc dubitare non debes V. Cl. omnes hujus ævi Hebraizantes applaudentes habes. Genevæ, *Turretinus* junior; Parisiis, *Justellus, Formentinus, Tevenottus, Capellanus, Ferrandus; Sturelіæ Toignardus*, admiratores tui sunt; ut jam nihil de patria mea et Germania dicam, nam ipsorum nomina vix hæc chartula comprehendet. Et quamque viris illis præstantissimis in omnibus multo inferior sim, nunquam tamen concedam ut me affectu in te colendo

* *John Henry Ott* (or *Ottho*) was born in the Canton of Zurich, 1617. He was Professor of Hebrew and Ecclesiastical History at Zurich, where he died in 1682.

vincant. Tu V. Cl. quæso hoc mihi in mutuum concede, ut si affectum tuum non merear, saltem eâ humanitatis tuæ parte frui possim, quam ut vir humanissimus omnibus te accedentibus impertire soles: præcipue autem maxime demerebis, si a te intelligere potero, quid maxime adhuc in studio Hebraico desideres, et quid velles quod alii facerent:— agimus enim subinde nos extranei magno conamine illud, quod aut jam actum, aut tanto molimine dignum non est. Dignaberis quoque me monere quid de *Massecheth Sotah, Rosh Hashana, Shekalim,* et *Tamid,* sentias: an jam versa publici juris facta sint, aut an digna sint ut id fiant. Nos nuper tuos priores vertimus, et notulis pro captu illuminavimus; sed quoniam nulla ferme spes talia typis mandendi super est, ad reliqua concinnanda propè sufflaminatus sum. Incumbam tamen in posterum præcipue illi, quod tu V. Cl. maxime probaveris. Plura non addo, ne injurius sim in rempublicam literariam, in qua ornanda omnia tua studia et tempora impenduntur. Vale V. Cl. plurimum Deo commendandus,

A servo tuo humillimo,

Et paratissimo,

Joh. Henrico Ottho.

Dabam Oxonii, in Ædibus Bibliothecarii *Hyde,*
Pridie, Non. Junii, 1672.

Viro Clarissimo Celeberrimoque, D. Johanni Lightfooto, S. Theologiæ Doctori, et Collegii S. Catharinæ, in Academiâ Cantabrigiensi, præfecto.—Cantabrigiam.

LETTER LXXII.

From the same.

Viro Clarissimo τὸ εὐπράττειν apprecor,

Quod tam humaniter ad me scribere dignatus es, est quod tibi agam gratias quamplurimas: utpote qui meæ tenuitatis probe conscius, non sperabam à viro tali fama et doctrina tam benignas literas accipere. Qui tuus affectus eò major erit, si illum porro, quamvis erga immerentem, exercere pergas. Ego certe, cum nihil aliud possim, tuum animum exosculor, et illum in posterum tanquam omnis virtutis et

doctrinæ sedem et habitaculum venerabor et colam. Judicium tuum circa Tractatus illos Talmudicos, Sotah, Rosh Hashana, Shekalim et Tamid, sìcuti suspicio, ita etiam in omnibus sequar. Et sane jam aliquos edidissem, nisi in eis temporibus essemus, in quibus Bibliopolæ talia ita fastidiunt, ut nec in Gallia nec in Anglia hactenus ullus reperiri potuerit, qui tale quid typis mandare voluerit. Nec etiam publicum illos magnopere expetere videtur, postquam *Aben Dana* animum suum ad illius operis perfectionem applicuit. Plurima enim ab illo, ut Judæo, præstari poterunt, quæ ab aliis Hebraizantibus nec sperari quidem possunt.

Quod ad 'Ανάλυσιν illam Talmud. Hierosolymitani, de qua in literis mentionem fecit V. R. attinet, est revera illud opus arduum, et quod hominem requirit majoris peritiæ, quam ego sum. Si tamen hanc meam ætatem perpendo, qua singulis diebus seria lege adhuc proficere licet, non refugit timido sanguen, quin aliquando tale quid ex illo Myrothecio concinnare et depromere possim. Apposui his literis ἀποσκίασμα methodi; ex qua videre poteris, an humeri mei ad illud opus validi sint, et deinde, an tuam mentem rectè intellexerim, necne. Nam forsan non nudum rerum indicem solum, sed etiam enarrationem desideras. Qua ratione opus nimium, ut mihi videtur, excresceret. Quod si plenius de his me monere dignaberis, propediem in operis specimen Massecheth Beracoth præparabimus.

Viri illi docti, quibus in literis salutem apposuisti, te resalutant מדה כנגד מדה. Præcipue D. *Hyde*, qui magnus tui cultor est. Vale, Vir clarissime, et hunc hominem porrò tua benevolentia fovere admonitionibusque adjuvare perge, et quam maximè demerebis.

S. T. P.

Dabam Oxonii, 7 Jul. 1672.

Joh. Henricum Otth.

Scheleton Talm. Hieros. Tractatus.

BERACOTH.

Fol. 1. col. 1.—1. Quando lectio Schema vesperi legi debeat. 2. Eadem opera sciri potest, quando Sacerdotes suam Trumam comederint. 3. Lectio Schema se protendit secundum quosdam ad primæ vigiliæ exitum, secundum alios ad dimidiam partem ejus: secundum Gamalielem durat op-

portunum tempus, usque dum aurora adscenderit. 4. Historia filiorum *Gamalielis*, qui quamvis in longam noctem convivium protraxerant, à patre tamen ab officio pietatis non dispensantur. 5. Quando adipes et membra fumigari debeant. 6. In genere, de iis, quæ fieri debent antequam יעלה עמוד השחר Adscendat aurora. 7. Quando lectio Schema manè fieri debeat. 8. Filii regum quando surgant. 9. Quomodo Schema legi debeat. 10. Quomodo benedictio fieri debeat mane et vesperi. 11. In statutis et ordinationibus nihil immutandum. Sive, lectiones secundum sententiam Magistrorum peragendæ. 12. Quando exitus ex Ægypto mentio fieri debeat. 13. R. *Eliezer* dicit, se non meruisse illam audire, usque dum *Ben Soma* concionabatur: quod ejus neglectum arguit. 14. Quid sit כל ימי חייך "per omnem vitam tuam." Phrasiolog. קרובים דבריהן להיות שוין "Ita ipsorum verba sibi invicem accedunt, ut eadem esse videantur." 15. Qui dubitat an benedixerit cibum, an preces fuderit, legerit, &c. debet repetere actionem.

Col. 2.—1. Quod stellæ esse debeant antequam nox adesse dicatur. 2. Quandiu alicui in vespera Sabbatum præcedenti opus suum perficere liceat. 3. Quando liceat in Sabbati vespera opus suum incipere. 4. R. *Jacob* דרומה "Australis." 5. Quid est, quando sit, בין השמשות tempus illud, quod "Intersolare," h. e. inter soles, dicitur. 6. De lunæ ortu et occasu. 7. Distantia montis Carmel et ejus altitudo elici potest per conseq. 8. דאזיל ליה בקפנדרא "Qui compendiosa utitur via" דאזיל ליה באיסרטוא "est qui communi et licita via utitur."

LETTER LXXIII.

From the same.

Vir Clarissime,

Mitto tibi Tractatum, qui modo prelum reliquit, et in publicum prodire incepit. Si verum est quod vulgo fertur, festinando fieri catulos cæcos, vix mihi promittere audeo, hunc meum fœtum acerrimi tui judicii radios sustinere posse. Ita ex improviso amicorum suffragia me ad aliquid edendum adegerunt, ut intra paucas septimanas simul materiam disponere, corrigere, et conscribere debuerim. Gestierunt ta-

men hæ exercitatiunculæ nostræ se sistere coram Rev. tua, vel sola ipsa spe humanitatis nixæ, qua juniorum lapsus et hallucinationes excusare soles. Si illas percurrere dignaberis, reperies te nobis plurimas cogitationes suggessisse: absque quibus respectu aliorum Auctorum equidem frigere et ungues rodere licuisset. Ita est, V. R. tua opera mihi ita in deliciis sunt, ut ea etiam in succum et sanguinem vertere studeam. Ex illis enim peculio meo accedit plus dapis, quam ex ullis aliis Theologorum scriptis. De Doctoribus Misnicis autem nunc scribere volui, quia necesse mihi visum est aliquid præmittere de Auctoribus illius doctrinæ, quam in Lexico materiarum (cujus operis specimen circa luctum Judæorum ad calcem libelli reperies) pendere spero. Si institutum nostrum tibi probabitur, maximum stimulum ad majora addes. Pluris enim æstimo quod tu censes, quam centum aliorum approbationes. Intra mensem in Galliam, et illinc in patriam iter paro. Si in illis regionibus tibi ulla occasione inservire potero, manda, impera, omnibus viribus adnitar tibi ubique probare quantum sim

Clarissimi nominis tui servus

Humillimus, paratissimus

Raptim Oxonii, die ultimo Decemb. 1672.

J. Henricus Ottho.

Viro Clarissimo D. Johanni Lightfooto, S. S. Theo. Doctori et Aulæ St. Catharinæ præfecto. Cantabrigiam.

LETTER LXXIV.

Dr. Bernard to Dr. Lightfoot.*

Reverend and right learned,

I cannot but acquaint you that the learned Mr. *Robert Huntington,* present minister of the church of the English factory at Aleppo, has lately sent over hither a good Samaritan Pentateuch, together with an account of the religion of the Samaritans of Sichem, written by persons there upon his request; and sent as it were to their brethren here

* *Edward Bernard,* born 1638; was fellow of St. John's, Oxford. His love of Jewish literature was manifested by the following publications:—I. Velerum Testimonia de lxxii. Versione. II. An edition of *Guise's* Misnæ pars prima. III. Chronologiæ Samaritanæ Synopsis, &c. He died in 1696.

in England (as they mistook Mr. *Huntington*, who told them that there were *Hebrews* here; he meaning *Jews*, and they their own sect); the translation whereof into Latin out of the Samaritan (which is nothing but the Biblical Hebrew, save some Arabisms here and there, for that is a language commonly made use of by them at Sichem) I have here sent, and if you think it worth the while, I will also transmit a copy of the Samaritan to you. Mr. *Huntington* acquaints me, that there are about thirty families of these Samaritans at Sichem, and not more, and they desire correspondence here; but care is to be taken that we do not dissemble with them, but beg their History of Joshua, and Liturgy, and also examine them upon points that may be material. If you please to send what questions you would desire a solution from them in, I will send them to Mr. *Huntington*, to whom I shall write about three weeks hence. The said good Mr. *Huntington* has likewise sent over one hundred-and-fifty MSS. Arabic and Hebrew, amongst which are *Cosri* in Arabic, *R. Saadias's Sepher Emunah* in Arabic, *Bar Bahlul's* Lexicon, well written, *Maimonides' Yad* entire, except two tracts which are not quite complete, *R. Saadias's* version and notes on Job, in Arabic, *Maimonides' Moreh*, both in Arabic and Hebrew, *Maimonides'* son's notes on his father's *Yad*, *Gregory's* Syriac Grammar, pieces of R. *Tanchuma*, and his Lexicon or *Musshid*, *Kimchi's* Michlol, R. *Alphes* and *Tanchuma*, and other good books in Hebrew MSS. Besides he has sent over a catalogue of books to be had now at Damascus, in Arabic and Persian, and some in Hebrew. He is skilful and ready to serve you in any thing oriental or Jewish that may be had there. This opportunity I would not let you be ignorant of, knowing how you have recommended above all other the study of Jewish learning as plainly necessary to the right understanding of the New Testament as well as the Old. I would willingly know whether Mr. *Abendana* has done really any parts of the *Misnaioth* into Latin, and when any tracts will go to the press.—I commend you to God's grace,

And am your very affectionate servant,

E. BERNARD.

March 5th, 167$\frac{3}{4}$, St. John's, Oxon. [Extreme cold weather.]

My service to Dr. *Castell*, Dr. *Barrow*, and Mr. *Abendana*. As for Greek MSS. he could meet with none that were

classical: but *Ascetiques* enough. Dr. *Pocock* presents his love to you, and also Dr. *Marshal*, who at present has an ague. God soon rid him of it for his mercy's sake. Our Antiquities are almost printed off, and will be ready to be sold, together with a catalogue of all printed books in the Bodleian library against next October. Pray is there any hope of your purchasing the *Golian* books? The date of their calendar in the Samaritan label is somewhat obscure and defective.

These for the reverend Dr. Lightfoot, the worthy Master of Catharine-Hall, in the famous University of Cambridge.

LETTER LXXV.

Dr. Lightfoot to Dr. Bernard.

[From Dr. *Smith's* MSS. in the Bodleian Library.]

Worthy Sir,

I look upon it as a very respectful favour and courtesy shewed to me, and a very great obligation laid upon me, that you have been pleased to impart so great a rarity to me, as an account of those excellent books lately come out of the east, and especially the Samaritans' confession of their faith and religion. So great a favour had deserved a better return than I have made you, who have neither restored your Samaritan piece, nor so much as returned a line of thanks all this while, for so great a civility. But will you accept of a pitiful excuse? I have lately a poor small piece come off the press, some notes of my slender and homely texture upon the gospel of St. Luke, which I would very gladly have sent with the Samaritans' letter, but could not meet with the opportunity, as not having the happiness to light upon an Oxford carrier at Cambridge, nor knowing where your Oxford carrier lies in London. I think fortune knows the book is not worth sending, and it serves me accordingly. However, I wait for an opportunity, and hope to find it. In the mean while accept my most hearty thanks to you for your very great favour, and that you are pleased to number me among your friends, to whom you impart so great a treasure. I do most heartily own the obligation, added to

a former—your very kind and friendly visit of me in Cambridge.

I cannot tell what to do to Mr. *Huntington*, whether more to honour him or to envy him. He deserves all honour for that worth that appears in him, by his actings specified in your letter; and I most heartily wish him all happiness and prosperity. But I could half find in my heart to envy him for this, for that he hath the ocular view of those places in the land of Canaan, that I have been blundering to find out till I have been ready to lose myself, as I have sitten here. Happily may he arrive in England to give account of them. The Samaritan Pentateuch that he hath sent over, is a rarity indeed. I make no doubt but you have perused and compared it; for who could hold his fingers from such a task? If any remarkable difference appears, it may be worth your imparting to the public. Whether the other books that he hath sent over, be to be sold, or reserved to your library, your letter doth not intimate. As for the *Golian* library, I do not perceive any progress with us about it; and I have not seen Dr. *Castell* since I received your letter. To Dr. *Barrow* I have presented your remembrances, and inquired of R. *Aben Dana* whereabout he is in his task; and he tells me he hath "tantum non" finished the fourth Seder נזיקין. So that now he hath but two more before him.

My most hearty and entire service to Dr. *Pocock* and Dr. *Marshal;* to whom whosoever wisheth not all health and happiness, either knoweth not them, or is no great friend of the commonwealth of learning. The Lord long preserve them to their own comfort and the public good. And the like hearty wishes must you ever have from,

Sir, your very affectionate friend
And obliged servant,
JOHN LIGHTFOOT.

Much-Munden, Hertfordshire.
April 29, 1674.

If I can meet with any conveniency of conveyance, the next week, in Cambridge to Oxford, I shall trouble you with some rude lines again.

To his very much honoured friend, Mr. Edward Bernard, Fellow of St. John's-College, Oxford, these.

LETTER LXXVI.

Dr. Lightfoot to Dr. Bernard.

[From Dr. *Smith's* MSS. No. 45, in the Bodleian Library.]

MOST HONOURED SIR,

APOLLO once sent a poem to *Vulcan*, desiring his judgment and censure upon it. *Smug* thought himself very much honoured, that such a reference was made to his anvil; but he had more wit and manners than to meddle: as very well knowing that his tinkerism had to deal with other kind of stuff and mettle than that was. "De te et me narratur fabula." That you have sent the original of the Samaritans' letter I account it a very great favour, and do most heartily thank you for such a rarity: but as for my judging concerning the translation, I dare not own so much skill, after such hands as it hath come from. I have indeed compared the original and translation together; and some uncouth writing I find in the Samaritan, in several words which must be allowed them; as pag. 1, line 16, נבי; line 40, נערנעים; line 54, ולו ישיג: pag. 2, line 15 and 17, ככו; line 48, הו for או as if amended; line 52, pag. 3, אא for אלא &c. But since you give me leave to give my thoughts concerning the translation, I shall deal freely. The clause "ita quidem ut hebdomas festum azymorum cadat in Nisan," which seems to come in page 2 of the original, about line 52, I cannot observe in the original. And three or four lines before the end of that second page, in the original it is על כל מן ישקא קן הקת, but rendered, "super omne quod a femina polluitur." I pray you revise it. קי נדה here I doubt not is the same with קי חטאת "aqua purificationis" (as the Talmud expresseth it), i. e. the water mingled with the ashes of a red heifer, as Numb. xix.: which mixture, though I believe the Samaritans have not, yet it seems they retain the rite and the name. I should render in my course Latin "aquas purificationis aspergimus super omnem, qui polluitur per mortuum diebus tertio et septimo. Femina quoque sedet in separatione sua

diebus septem." Review it, and I am sure you will agree with me in the sense. Pag. 3, from line 19 and forward in the autograph, the translation hath omitted some lines I should render "Nos non credimus nisi in Dominum, et in Mosem et in legem et in montem Gerizim, et versus istum [montem] adoramus Dominum." At Judæi credunt באחרם [I know not well what to make of this; let it be "retro;" or is not something of חרם in it?] "nec adorant nisi versus urbem" גפנה [I suspect some "malum halitum" in the word, for I can hardly think it means the city Cophnah] "at austro montis Gerizim."—I suppose they mean Jerusalem, line 33, הראוין. A hard business, but I see not how better to be rendered than you have done, "Divinæ gratiæ." So they double the letter in ערבעיכ. Line 47, אפרנגי; well rendered "Europæum:" but I should let them have their own word "Francum." Page 4, line 22, ונבונים "Intelligentes" I think were less exceptionable than "prophetæ." Line 28, וצוה אתם rendered "præcepit nobis."

I wonder when they mention the brave men buried with them, that there is no news of the twelve patriarchs, whom St. Stephen lodges there, Acts vii.

Page 5, line 5, עבור שנה I dare not except at the translation "Intra spatium anni;" and yet I should think they mean "calculationem anni" but that the article ה is wanting before שנה. Line 21, 22, וברוך שקו לעולם left untranslated.

Thus you see what it is to put such a business into the hands of a bungler as I am, that can sooner make two holes than mend one. Pardon my blundering, and accept my very hearty thanks for this so great a favour, and all your civilities.

I have sent you one of my poor homespun pieces, not worth sending, much less worth your accepting; but your goodness will accept the heart that sends it. Rabbi *Aben Dana* goes on now apace, and tells me he hopes to have finished by January next. The business about the *Golian* library begins to have some life in it again, through the importunity of Dr. *Castell* and the zealous forwarding of the vice chancellor. Dr. *Castell*, who is but just now parted from me, presents his dear remembrances to you, and desires you to do the like for him to Dr. *Pocock* and Dr. *Marshal*. To whom also I pray you present my most humble service and entirest affections. And the same I most heartily present to your

worthy self: and I must ever own, and at present subscribe myself,

Sir,
Your very much obliged servant,
And real honourer of your worth,
JOHN LIGHTFOOT.

I have herewith sent the Samaritan Autographon, which I hope will come safe to your hands. I most heartily thank you for Dr. *Pocock's* Arabic catechism: and most heartily wish him long life and health, to do such great things long, as he doth continually.

LETTER LXXVII.

Dr. Bernard to Dr. Lightfoot.

Reverend and most honoured,

I MOST humbly thank you for the happy Hours on that more copious Evangelist, by which that most excellent part of Holy Scripture is fully and completely expounded in a most proper and yet untrodden way. God reward you both here and in a better world, for this and the rest of your labours in this sort, which posterity will admire and bless, when they see them all together. I also very humbly thank you for your good animadversions on that rude translation of the Samaritan paper, which I adventured to send before the second copy came, because of the novelty of the thing. When I hear again from Mr. *Huntington*, I shall be sure to certify you thereof; for I know yourself and Dr. *Pocock* to be the very pillars of sacred learning; like the monuments of Seth in a corrupt and vain age. God add, I beseech him, yet to your years and health, for advantage to his church.

Dr. *Marshal*, who presents his love to you, is very much concerned that the *Golian* affair be prosecuted, and will do his utmost to bate down the price, and effect that very much desired purchase; nay, he professes to me his readiness to come over to Cambridge and explain all that he knows of

the business; and what he conceives best to be done. Our act will delay him for about a week; but after, he is devoted to your business; which one short conference, he observes, will be more conducing than many letters.

My humble service I commend to the reverend and learned Dr. *Castell*, congratulating his zeal and the likely success of it, for the procuring *Golius's* books. I salute, also, with my hearty service, R. *Abendana*, and am very glad to hear that he is near finishing of his right useful work.

I make bold now to take my leave of you till after the act; when I shall again acknowledge that I am,

Your obliged
and truly affectionate servant,
E. BERNARD.

St. John's, Oxon, July 8th, 1674.

I received in a good packet the Samaritan Autographon, &c. Farewell, with the favour of our blessed Lord, whose Holy Gospel you have most happily expounded.

I entreat my most humble service to the worthy Masters of Trinity and St. John's. Dr. *Pocock* presents his love to you; his Arabic version of the liturgy is finished, and in good part printed.

These for the reverend and learned Dr. John Lightfoot, &c.

LETTER LXVIII.

Dr. Lightfoot to ———

[From *Birch's* MSS. in the British Museum.]

GOOD SIR,

I THANK you for the last morning's visit, but I forgot one thing, that makes me thus to send hue and cry after you; and that is, I must entreat you, and, if entreating will not do, I must command you, to be personally at Bury the last Sunday in this month, there to be assistant to me in preaching in the morning, and in administering the sacrament with me. I know that your Betty will not be against it.

I hope before another sacrament to have a curate, and then I am at thy service for a day, when thou hast a rambling mind into Yorkshire. If I hear nothing from you before next Saturday, I'll depend upon you, and you shall notably engage

Your faithful servant and brother,

J. LIGHTFOOT.

January, 17th, 1655 or 8.

LETTER LXXIX.

*Mr. Edge to the Rev. Mr. Duckfield.**

Uttoxeter, Oct. 8th, 1677.

WORTHY SIR,

IT pleased God to strike my neighbour Mr. *Peter Lightfoot* with sickness, before the letter came to his hands; thereof he died Aug. 16th. The contents of the letter he was pleased to impart to me, and some things with much ado I got from him, which may be a little light to you in writing of the doctor's life.

Dr. *John Lightfoot* was born at Stoke-upon-Trent, in the rector-house (of the best parsonage in this county of Stafford), March 29th, An. Dom. 1602 (near the time when that great princess Queen Elizabeth left this world). His father, Mr. *Thomas Lightfoot,* was born at a little village called Shelton, in the same parish of Stoke,—a worthy father of a worthy son. The father, my pious predecessor, I need give no further account of, than what is contained in his epitaph, which we have in this church of Uttoxeter, a copy whereof is herein enclosed: only let me remark this of the doctor's mother, that she was of the family of the *Bagnalls,* three of which family were created knights by Queen Elizabeth, for their martial prowess and valour in the then wars in Ireland against the rebels. The doctor being competently grown up, was sent to school to the famous Mr. *Thomas Whitehead,* then teaching at Moreton Green, in Cheshire (at which Moreton, lives the worthy family of the *Bellots,* now baronets); Mr. *Thomas Lightfoot* then living at Barsemley, in the said county of Cheshire. There the doctor made very good progress in learning, and from thence was sent up to Christ's-College, Cambridge: who his tutor

* Dr. *Lightfoot's* son-in-law, and one of his executors.

was I cannot certainly tell, but guess he was Dr. *William Chappell*, afterwards bishop in Ireland. When graduated, the doctor coming down into the country, was shortly afterward settled in the house of Sir *Rowland Cotton*, of Bellaport, in Shropshire: there the doctor laid his foundation of rabbinical learning. Sir *Rowland* was a worthy gentleman, one who (as I have heard Mr. *Peter Lightfoot* say) was excellently well versed in the Hebrew language at eight years of age, having been brought up under the wing of the renowned Mr. *Hugh Broughton*. Whilst in that house (as I take it), the doctor grew acquainted and married the widow Mrs. *Copwood*, a branch of the worshipful family of the *Cromptons* of Stone, in this county of Stafford. And now, Sir, having brought down the history so far, I suppose, Sir, your virtuous wife can inform of other passages; how he was settled at Ashley, afterward called up to London to the Assembly: but these things I leave to other hands. I have faithfully related what came to my knowledge; if defective, I crave your pardon, and I am, Sir,

Your assured friend and
loving brother,
MICHAEL EDGE.

Dr. *John Lightfoot* was the son of *Thomas Lightfoot*, vicar of Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire. His schoolmaster was one Mr. *Whiteall*, near Congerton, in Derbyshire: his master soon found him an excellent grammarian. From thence he was removed to Christ's-College in Cambridge, where he was under the care and tuition of Dr. *Chappell* (afterwards bishop of Cork in Ireland). He had not been there long, but his tutor was pleased to say to some of the heads of the university, that he had a young pupil, meaning *Lightfoot*, whom he thought the best orator of all the undergraduates in town. He understood the Greek and Latin tongues very well. But after a short stay, but an extraordinary proficiency in all he undertook—unless it was logic, which he could never much fancy, for his quiet genius could never agree with that quarrelsome science—he was forced to leave the university, and came to be an assistant to his former master in Rippon in Derbyshire; where he mightily improved himself in the Greek tongue, and also began to fancy the study of the Hebrew. His conversation was as pleasing to

the master of the school, as his mildness was to the boys. After a short time, he was preferred to be chaplain to that worthy gentleman, Sir *Rowland Cotton*, of Bellaport, in Shropshire, where he was seriously set to the study of the language, being mightily ashamed that Sir *Rowland*, a country gentleman, should so baffle him in the tongues; so that in short time he was master not only of the Hebrew, but some other languages. His gentle carriage made him dear to all that family, but especially to Sir *Rowland*, who, out of a pure principle of encouraging virtue and learning, preferred him to the rectory of Ashley in Staffordshire.

Oct. 8, 1677.

For the Rev. Mr. Duckfield, Minister of the Gospel at Aspeden, in Hertfordshire.

LETTER LXXX.

Rev. Mr. J. Duckfield to the Rev. Mr. Strype.†

SIR,

YOURS of the 11th I received the 22nd of this instant, and return this by a neighbour that comes from our parts to your town; being very glad of the opportunity.

I had no reason, Sir, to prescribe your time in that which was your so kind and voluntary undertaking, and that you are pleased to be willing still to go on with what remains, is your goodness; for which I am very sensible what cause I have to acknowledge my [*] to you.

The books that remain, you may let go for what will be given for them, the rest being sold. The business of the convent I refer wholly to yourself, as making you interested in it so far as concerns me: there are two of us executors, that are partakers in the affair; and the moiety that belongs to me, I resign to yourself, as who only deserve it, having taken that pains in it that you have: the other part, whatsoever it be, the other will be content with.

† *John Strype* was born at Stepney, November, 1643; took his master's degree at Cambridge, 1669. He held the living of Low Layton sixty-six years. He died December, 1737. *Strype* edited the second volume of the English folio-edition of *Lightfoot's* Works, and also the volume entitled "*Lightfoot's* Golden Remains."—*Strype* was eminent as an ecclesiastical historian.

Touching the printing of the sermons, we begin to hesitate, it having been considered how utterly averse the doctor was in his life time, that any should be published; and indeed, unless there should be something of extraordinary or more than common remark, it seems to me unreasonable, that the world should be troubled with the printing of all good sermons. I have had some thoughts of perusing all the doctor's sermons that I have by me, and collecting out of them such things as may appear of more especial observation, referring to the explication of texts of Scripture or any peculiar notions concerning them, which are either passed by in his other works, or not so fully insisted on, or not in the English language. There is one thing that discourages, that the MS. character is very small; he hath many interlinings, and my eyes are very bad, through ill usage, that I cannot do it without spectacles; which is a sore trouble to me. Sir, I heartily thank you for that very much which you have done, and that more which you are willing to do; but what to resolve about it is as uncertain, but do rather incline to think most fit to forbear the printing the sermons; at least such are our present thoughts.

I am

Your very obliged and
Respectful friend,
JOHN DUCKFIELD.

Ashford, March 25th, 1679.

LETTER LXXXI.

Rev. Mr. Duckfield to the Rev. Mr. Strype.

SIR,

IT is some while since my last to you (which was also in answer to one from you), in which I desired Mr. *Parkhurst*, because his bargain was represented somewhat too hard, might be considered, as you should think fit yourself, by abatement, but not by the promise to have the printing of any sermons, because I did not think to have them printed at all. I never heard any more of it; that I question whether my letter were received. Sir, I now crave leave to desire the

returning of those copies, and pray that you would please either to send them by *Lyon* the carrier, or to leave them with my brother for me, unless you would be willing to have them a little longer in your hands for your own perusal, which I shall be willing enough to; but their printing I do not yet intend; therefore, if the keeping of them some more time may not be any pleasure to yourself, I do desire to have them again at your best convenience. It would be as gratifying to me, if you could send me word from Mr. *Kidder*, whether or no any copy hath been taken of the doctor's map of the Temple, which I have had returned from him.

Sir, for all that trouble that has been given you, and that kindness you have shewed, as I am your very thankful, so I shall always acknowledge myself

Your most obliged,
Friend and servant,
JOHN DUCKFIELD.

Aspeden, July 21st, 1679.

For the Rev. Mr. J. Strype, Minister of Low Layton, to be left for him at Mr. Coleman's, a grocer in Fenchurch-Street.

LETTER LXXXII.

Mr. Bonnell to the Rev. Mr. Strype.*

COUSIN STRYPE,

YOU having been formerly inquisitive of me about spirits, I thought it not amiss to send you the enclosed account, which I transcribed from Dr. *Lightfoot's* own hand, out of a little MS. which Mr. *Duckfield* lately found among his papers; and the rather, because I am in some hopes that by your means we may gain somewhat of the sequel of the story; because Mr. *Duckfield* tells me that Mr. *Burton*, to whom the first letter is directed, was fellow of Magdalen-College, and is now minister of St. George's, Southwark: or if you can think of any other way, either by acquaintance with any other person concerned, and in the parts where

* *James Bonnell* was the son of an English merchant, that resided in Geneva, where this son was born in 1653. He took his master's degree at Cambridge, in 1676. He died at Dublin, 1699, and had the character of being an amiable and learned man.

the thing was acted, especially of there being somewhat of it done at Westham, I should be ever glad. It is somewhat odd what is there said of a Papist plot against the King, and that it should be described upon a pack of cards; as we know this plot has been. Perhaps there might have been some more predictions of this sort, if we had the conclusion of the story. I send this by means of Mr. *Barker's* cover, who will drop it in the way; else would not have troubled you with a letter at this time. I shall be very glad to see you, whenever it pleases God; in the mean time remain

Your faithful and obliged cousin,

J. Bonnell.

Dear Cousin—Since the writing of the enclosed, I received your's, by *Lyon*, on Saturday last, with the enclosed from Dr. *Stevens*, for which I heartily thank you, and shall answer it shortly. This enclosed paper I send you now outright. I find Mr. *Duckfield* has some thoughts of printing it; because of the passage in relation to the plot, especially if he could *find* any thing of the conclusion. I have finished my translation, and this day sent it to Dr. *Wood*. Mr. *Gouge* met me last week at Royston. They want a fellow in the college to take pupils; which they think I could not do; indeed if I were *F.*, I believe I should persuade Mr. *F.* to let Mr. *Ralph* and me go study there; but otherwise, the charge would be too great to maintain us both, and not "tanti." I have sent 5*l.* to Mr. *Cal.* for the college.

LETTER LXXXIII.

Mr. Bonnell to the Rev. Mr. Strype.

Good Cousin,

It was my unhappiness that I came too late to your appointment at Mr. *Low's*. I would gladly have followed you to Whitechapel, but that I was to make what haste I could to the other end of the town. This now accompanies the rest of the doctor's sermons. I suppose Mr. *Duckfield* speaks what he has to say in his letter. Mr. *Chiswell* gave me one copy of the doctor's picture, and desires some notes

of the doctor's life. When the picture is finished, he must present it afterward to the relations here and in Staffordshire, and may expect from them what they remember of the doctor. All happiness to yourself and my cousin, with my humble service to both, I remain,

Dear cousin,

Your affectionate kinsman and servant,

March 20, 1681.

J. Bonnell.

LETTER LXXXIV.

Mr. Bonnell to the Rev. Mr. Strype.

Nov. 28th, 1681.

Good Cousin,

I come now at last to answer your two letters, the first concerning myself, and the latter, Mr. *Duckfield.* I think he intends, this day, to send up the picture directed strait to Mr. *Chiswell,* because of fewer removals. To add to which, I send you (without Mr. *Duckfield's* knowledge) the inscription Dr. *Gardner* wrote for the doctor's monument, together with Mr. *Pool's* amendments enclosed, that I chanced to have by me, and which I think you procured. It was never made use of, by reason of the quarrels between Mr. *D.* and Dr. *Worthington;* but I think it may have a very good place before his works, instead of his life, being an abstract of it; to which, if it be thought fit, such a thing as *Agro Staffordiensi oriundus* may be added. As for its being engraved on a plate, and imprinted in a portraiture of a monument to be placed over against the doctor's effigies, I leave that to the booksellers; though I think it would adorn much.

Now, concerning the sermons; I have looked over a great many, and on some made short remarks in the enclosed paper. I confess my reading has been to little purpose for forwarding the design. Perhaps twenty may be picked out, or patched together; before the year 70 there are few complete: he wrote shorter. He has a moving strain of tender rhetoric all the way, and perhaps to some it may appear too soft; and sometimes indeed (which will be best omitted) is

apt to run too low. One would wonder to see some of his discourses so accurate for his private congregation; but it was natural and easy to him; and makes me see reason for Dr. *Gardner's* epithet of his sermons (which Mr. *Pool* leaves out) *Elaboratissimis:* better sense in Latin.

About universal redemption and election he was somewhat bewildered, between the notions of his educators and those hammered out of his own head. It was his modesty made him hang in suspense. I don't know how any bargain can be driven with the bookseller at the sight of them, because they need so much reducing and reforming. I doubt if one should regard strictly what is fit to be published, it would all lie in ten sermons. It will be a tedious work to reduce and transcribe them; as bad as Cousin *Knox's* book: for nothing must be spoke twice, and every thing must be brought into the place where it will best stand: for he speaks the same thing on several subjects. For my part, I have no leisure: the proffer you make, is considerable in respect of Mr. *Duckfield,* but will not, I doubt, recompense your pains. (The doctor is better at raising attention than satisfying it.) Take them, however, and consider what you have to do.—He has some Staffordshire words: *ungive* for *abate, loose* for *end* or *upshot,* &c. and spells all words with *ei* wrong, as *feild* for *field,* &c.

Since the writing of this, discoursing with Mr. *D.* he thinks best not to trouble you with any more sermons than just such as may seem complete; for that it is an unreasonable trouble to expect of you to reduce those many that need it; and being but a little to be picked out of every sermon, had better, if at all, be printed as expositions than as sermons; of which, I suppose, he will write to you. These sent are sixteen, with one parcel of sixty-four, because he has something about the subject of two of the sixteen sermons, to which I make references on those two sermons. That of Ziba, the first half of it may be subjoined to an assize sermon, March, 1669, where he speaks of the same thing; and the latter half omitted, if you think fit.

Dec. 5th.—I have staid since the former date for Mr. *D.* I cannot excuse his delay, no more than I can help it. I have left all with him to do as he pleases. I suppose one of those sermons

you mentioned in a bookseller's hands, is here, and the other with Mr. *Firmin*, a noted person in the city, who will resign it.

To Mr. John Strype, at Mr. Smith's, Bookseller, at the Bible, by the Exchange, in Cornhill.

LETTER LXXXV.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

Sir,

I would not have delayed answering your letter thus long, but that imparting it to Mr. *Bonnell*, he was willing to undertake the overlooking of some sermons, and then I thought best to forbear, 'till he had chosen out some, which I might send; and this I desired him in the meantime to signify to you. He hath now, out of about a hundred, selected these twelve or thirteen, which yet are referred to your further discretion, after examination. I have also sent you a parcel more, if you should please to give yourself the trouble of perusing them. I have not done it myself; for if I had, I would not they should have been offered to the bookseller, without further advice about them: and indeed if I had thought of it sooner, I would have sent them at first for your perusal, while Mr. *Bonnell* was about the rest. When you have done these, if you please, you shall have more, and more after them, till you have perused all I have, that are like complete sermons. I shall send them to my son's at Aldgate, where you may call for them. The map of the Temple shall also be sent to you, if you think good, and I shall wholly refer myself to you about it. Mr. *Kidder* had formerly spoken with me about it, and I sent lately to know his final positive resolution; but have had no answer from him.

Sir, one thing more I desire to mention to you. That book which you took so much pains about (the order of the gospels, composed by the doctor), and bargained for with the bookseller, I have never heard of it since, and know not whether it be printed or no; nor indeed who the bookseller is, that hath it; as I remember you told me the bookseller

complained he had a hard bargain of the notes upon the Acts: and therefore I should not be unwilling, that, if you thought fit, some abatement might be made of this; for I do not love to gain by others' losses: I desire, Sir, if you please, your counsel and discretion about it. If there be any thing wherein I can serve you, you shall at any time command

Your very obliged friend and servant,

JOHN DUCKFIELD.

Dec. 4th, 1681.

The doctor's picture, I think, will be sent this week to the bookseller, as Mr. *Bonnell* shall give us direction.

I have not sent many sermons at once, because I would not clog you; nor do I know whether any of them may be fit for publishing; I doubt, not: but, it may be, in the reading them (if you will be at that pains) you may find some things that may gratify you: and, if you desire, you shall have more when you have done with these, most freely.

To Mr. John Strype, at Mr. Smith's, Bookseller, at the Bible, by the Exchange, in Cornhill.

LETTER LXXXVI.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

SIR,

I HAVE sent you another parcel of the doctor's sermons. Mr. *Bonnell* having signified to me your desire that I would, and your willingness to be at the trouble of perusing them; if you have looked over the rest and done with them, what you have not selected for publishing, I pray you would please to send back by *Lyon*, our carrier of Buntingford, who inns at the Swan, without Bishopsgate. Only if there be any among them, or these, that you would farther consider of, you may keep them till your own time, or wholly to give up; whatever of them you shall have a mind to, I freely and heartily give you liberty to take your own choice, returning the rest. If Mr. *Chiswell*, or any else, will make a bargain for them by the lump before they are fitted for the press; yet I shall think it unreasonable to expect the money, till they shall be prepared for his use: and I would

desire also to see them before they be put to the press: and if you please to send some of them, which you have selected, while you are fitting the others, I will take some care about the transcribing of them, and do something about them as well as I can; remitting them, both the copy and the transcript, for another perusal than my own. But this proposal I refer to yourself, which I only make for the taking off some of the trouble and burden from others, so far as I may be able to do. Giving you all thanks for your kindness and service to the doctor's memory,

I am, Sir,

Your respectful friend

And brother,

Asp. March 20, 168½.

J. Duckfield.

For the reverend Mr. Strype, Minister of Low Layton, Essex. To be left at Mr. Charles Low's, Haberdasher of Hats, over against Creed-Church, London.

LETTER LXXXVII.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

Worthy Sir,

I have received by *James Lyon* the fifteen pounds you sent, for which you sold a collection of Dr. *Lightfoot's* sermons: and return you all thanks for your care and concern therein; but must study some other way than this to express my sense of the obligation you have indeed laid upon all of us. I have since thought of a particular sermon of the doctor's which I had transcribed myself into a book (among other memoirs) in the doctor's life time, but have not the original. Wherefore I have procured the writing of it out again from my copy, by a plainer hand, and sent it up to you; for I remember, in the original, it was said to be prepared only to be printed at the funeral of Sir *Rowland Cotton*, that noble-minded and learned gentleman, the doctor's patron, and the author to him of his entering upon, and the

great encourager and promoter of, his Hebrew studies: to whose memory the doctor always paid an exceeding respect, delighting much in speaking of him, and remembering him with a great deal of honour to his name, and a transport of affection towards him. Out of the sermon and the Funebris Oratio you may perceive his endearedness to him, and perhaps may make some use of it in describing his life. Since your last, I have caused enquiry to be made touching the memorials which were sent out of Staffordshire to Mr. *Lightfoot*, and have received notice back again, that Mr. *Lightfoot* being spoken to, hath put what he had received, into Mr. *Kidder's* hands, but withal wondering and desirous to know how intelligence had been given of them; but of that no matter. In those papers that Mr. *Bonnell* brought up, there were several which had relation to the doctor's father, from which some account, I presume, may be taken of him.

This sermon which I send, you may make use of, as you please. I wholly give it up into your hand. There is nothing more that I can find than what I have sent on Acts vii. I am in some concern for Mr. *Parkhurst*, not knowing what I shall be able to serve him with. Sir, I have no more, but mine and my wife's respects to you, and my hearty prayers for you, who am,

Sir,

Your very affectionate

Friend and servant,

Asp. July 3, 1682.

JOHN DUCKFIELD.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

WORTHY SIR,

IN the last that I received of yours, of the 9th instant, you mentioned, that if any letters could be found written to the doctor from learned men, &c. it might be material, &c. Since which I began to make some little search, as I had leisure; and knowing of one letter, I readily found it; but written

by him to a foreign learned man, as you will see; in the latter end whereof he gives him an account of one opinion of his touching the Septuagint [whereof also he had begun a tractate, fairly written, so far as he had gone, but that was only some few chapters, and mostly introductory]. But Mr. *Buxtorf's* letters to the doctor, I do not find, nor remember to have seen them. With this from the doctor, I have sent likewise two others to him from Dr. *Worthington;* in one of which, the shorter, you will find a testimony given to the doctor from an eminent person in France. Other letters there are, which yet I have not, nor could look over; but shall do at the first opportunity. I have also sent you some other papers which I met with, viz. a translation, if you think good to peruse it; another, containing some exercises at a commencement, in the latter end of which is his determination upon one of the questions there disputed. A third is the doctor's "Concio ad Clerum;" whereof I must lament the miss of a sheet or two, especially at page 16, which I cannot possibly yet recover: they had been sewed together, but I found them loose; which occasioned the loss of it; and I know not where to look for it; but shall do what I can, though I know it will cost no little trouble. Sir, these are what have come to my hand for the present; what I can find besides (when I can have liberty to make farther search among so many loose papers), which may either serve to divert you in your spare hours, or which, as you shall judge, may be publicly useful, I shall be careful to send to you. In the mean time,

I am, Sir,

Your very obliged and

Respectful friend,

Aug. 20, 1682.

JOHN DUCKFIELD.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE at last tumbled and searched for whatsoever I could find, and have sent you a medley, some letters, whereof Dr. *Outram's* is one: there are many more of Dr. *Castell's*, of Bishop *Walton's*, of Mr. *Samuel Clarke* of Oxford, containing, most of them, matters of learning, or inquiries, none of which I have sent, because they are so many I feared you would be tired with them: but I tell you of them, that if you desire them, you may have them. Some loose papers which I found put together, you may do with them as you please; either lay them aside, or look over them, if perhaps you may find any notion among them here and there that may gratify you; other imperfect things. In one of the books you will find, in the latter end, an enumeration of the differences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew. I have now sent every thing (that is, except those letters abovementioned), that you may at your leisure look over what you please: and with them pray give me leave to present you with two books of the doctor's, Athenæus with Casaubon's animadversions, and a Basil in Greek, as part of acknowledgement of your great pains you have been at, and your kindness you have expressed; which, I pray, you would please to accept, as some remembrance of the doctor, toward whom you have shewed so much affection, which does so exceedingly endear you to us. Did I know any book of the doctor's library which you have not, and would be acceptable to you, I should most heartily and readily dispose it to you. Sir, I am ashamed of this, which is so much beneath what you have deserved of us; but your goodness, I hope, will take in good part this, though so small a testimony of our respects to you. Sir, I should be most glad to take all occasions of further testifying, how much I am

Your very obliged friend,

Oct. 16, 1682.

JO. DUCKFIELD.

For the Rev. Mr. Strype, Minister of Low Layton, in Essex.

LETTER XC.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

Aspeden, Oct. 25, 1682.

WORTHY SIR,

I RECEIVED yours this morning; and having the letters by me in a readiness, which I mentioned before, and you willing to be at the pains to peruse, I have sent them all indiscriminative; and, if I knew any thing else that would be a pleasure to you, should most heartily commit them into your hands. I do remember to have read something of Doctor *P.* [*] but in what papers I know not; I suppose they may be those that you have. Any letter of his I cannot call to mind, nor know where to look for; but I persuade myself, if there were any such, I should have laid them to the rest. Touching the sermon you mention, preached at Aspeden, I do not remember it. He preached once or twice when I was not there present; but upon no particular occasion, but only to give a sermon, and upon change. Two of his texts there preached I remember, which he told me; but not that you name. There could be no special occasion but the baptizing of a child, which yet I think not of: if you could give me any hint, it may be I may recollect. The three leaves wanting in the close, I cannot yet recover. I hoped you might find what is wanting in that sermon, in one of the books I sent, where there is a great part of it: and if it be not to be supplied from them, I am almost in despair about it. Sir, the box you may keep by you, and cast into it the loose papers that you shall lay aside, and send in it the rest of the notes, &c., when you have done with them. If Mr. *Kidder* has any thing relating to the doctor that might serve you, I wish you might have them.[*] Sir, though you did not expect a gratification, yet that you deserved one, you must give me leave to judge, and that another manner of one than I have made; for I do not account that to be one, but only a grateful acknowledgment how much you have endeared yourself to, and obliged

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

JOHN DUCKFIELD.

I should be glad to hear, but in a line, that these are come safe to you.

For Mr. Strype, Minister of Low Layton, in Essex.

LETTER XCI.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

DEAR SIR,

I DO assure you, that I have searched over all the papers and letters which I have and know of, and have looked into the subscription of every letter, and find no other of any concern to what is desired, but those which I have sent. Abundance of letters there were from Mr. *Pool*, (but which are nothing material to the business), while he was making his Synopsis. I did not conceive them useful, and therefore sent none of them, nor have been careful to peruse them. It cost not a little pains and time to peruse the rest, and you may be sure I would have sent more, if I had found more; and that I was careful of gathering up every thing, you may perceive by those many loose papers which I sent; nor can I for the present, think of any other particulars in reference to his life, to furnish you with. Touching college affairs, Dr. *Calamy*, if any, must needs be able to supply you, in whose time was the doctor's greatest activity there; and certainly not a little use they made of him, for the procuring of money to the building of the college: and some benefaction I think I have heard he bestowed of his own, to the releasing of the college from a yearly rent for a little piece of ground belonging to it. For my own part, I know myself not so fit for performing that task, for many reasons, and therefore shall not undertake it; but I would very seriously recommend it to yourself. You have the most materials for it, and I believe have with the most diligence surveyed them, and will take the exactest notice of them: I had rather they should be in your hands than another's.

Mr. *Kidder*, I suppose, has but little besides what you have, except some particulars of the doctor's family, as far as I could hear from those who procured it: but, pray Sir, has he the map still with him? If he does not send it over to Holland, I expect it be returned to me; and I appoint you to receive it for me, and shall put it into your hands to dispose of as you think good yourself.

I think of nothing else; only looking over your letter again, I find you say "the doctor must needs have abundance

of letters." Truly Sir, you have all that abundance, except those of private concerns. I have particularly looked into every one, and have been faithful in transmitting to you what I have, unless there should be any laid aside formerly in some unknown place, which I cannot imagine where it should be: for I have industriously examined all places that I can think of. And I tell you, I speak thus cautiously, because I miss a book of the doctor's, where he had begun a fair written discourse about the Septuagint, of about nine or ten leaves, which I know where I laid, and thought I could have immediately run to; but when I looked, I failed; and cannot, with all the rubbing up of my memory, call to mind the disposing of it. I fancy somebody might have borrowed it, and not returned it; but if I could give never so much, I know not how to retrieve it. But, Sir, I have been too troublesome to you; and therefore, with renewing my request to you for undertaking this work yourself, I shall conclude, assuring you it will be very acceptable to your already very much

Obliged friend and servant,

JOHN DUCKFIELD.

Though I have confessed my troublesomeness, yet I see I shall aggravate my fault. Sir, I have by me a very fair manuscript which was among the doctor's books, called "Targum in Chronica." Mr. *Kidder* hath seen it, and enquired, I think, of Dr. *Castell* about it, who told him, it was taken from a copy out of Oxford library (I think so), and that Dr. *Cudworth* had another: it is most fairly written, and Mr. *Kidder* told me, that sometime there had been a great sum of money offered for it by the Jesuits in Holland: he wished me to keep it, and it might fall out that, some time or other, it might be to advantage. I only tell you of it, that if so be that, in your occasional converse, you might be able to give me any direction about it. Further, for I will conceal nothing from you, if this also may be any pleasuring to you, which I have communicated to none else,—I have three pretty large paper books, bound in leather, containing a Journal of the proceedings of the Assembly of Divines, written with the doctor's own hands:—if it will be a gratifying to you to see them, I will readily send you them for your perusing, one after another, or all together, as you please.

LETTER XCII.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

Dear Sir,

I received yours of Nov. 27th, and have been hindered hitherto from making a return. Now to the particulars you inquire of:—The Targum in Chronica, is written, I conceive, not by the doctor's hand, but by some other; and throughout in a very fair and legible character as I have seen: it is only the original, without any interpretation. Next, I have sent you the first book of the Journals, by which you make an estimate of the other, which are in like manner. If by this you fancy to have the rest, when you have read over this, you shall have the other, also both together. This doth not take the rise from the beginning of their sitting; but there are other loose papers in quarto, which have a higher date, though I find not yet the first beginning of all. I put all confidence in you, and pray you to be reserved in them; but yet only as you see occasion, knowing you will do nothing shall be to the doctor's disadvantage: therefore I only leave you to your prudence. What the doctor's discourse is, that is published at the end of Corinthians, I know not, having never seen that book since it was printed; only I had the liberty of reading you over in the written sheets, before they went to the press: but in print I had them not, however it came to pass. But I believe the discourses are not the same; for this that I had, was only an imperfect one, but fair written in a quarto paper-book, wherein he had proceeded but a little way; some nine or ten chapters, I think, which were chiefly preliminary. I cannot yet recover it. To satisfy you, I have sent some of Mr. *Pool's* letters, abundance whereof have been received; for though there were in them inquiries, yet not having any answers to them, I was not curious to preserve them. Sir, I have no more but the thanks and hearty well wishes to you, of,

Sir, your very respectful
Friend and servant,
John Duckfield.

Dec. 18th, 1682.

LETTER XCIII.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

Good Sir,

I have, according to your request, sent you up the doctor's Harmony, fol. two other books of the same subject, of which you have one already, and some loose papers in quarto, of the same also, which are all I can find; any discourse (besides what you have) upon the commandments, I meet not with. Two upon the Creed I have sent; which likewise are all that I can by search light upon. Indeed these two last I could have sent before, for they were ready at hand; and had not sent them now, but to satisfy your desire, that you may see what they are. If the doctor's answers to Mr. *Pool's* enquiries, be not contained under "*Quidam,*" I know not how they will be found: 'tis most certain there are not any here.—I send up these things by my daughter, that comes up on Monday, January 12th, to town; so that I hope they will come to you without charge. She will leave them herself at Mr. *Low's* for you, if not unavoidably hindered. I scribble this in some haste, though I write but bad at best; and therefore pray, dear Sir, excuse

Your very respectful friend,
most willing to serve you
in any thing I can,

Jan. 11th, 9 at Night, 1683. John Duckfield.

LETTER XCIV.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

Good Sir,

This 17th, I received your's of the 15th of this instant. I had acquainted you before (which it seems you had forgot) that there were three of those journal books of the doctor's, and in my last expressed to you, that I had sent at that time only the first of them, whereby you might judge of the rest, and that, if it liked you, the other two should follow it; they

both of them, viz. these two latter, reach from Jan. 22, 1643, to December ult. 1644, and there end abruptly. I yet find no more. I told you also, that there were besides some few loose sheets, which begin a little higher than the first book which you have. Therefore I was more careless of Mr. *Pool's* letters, because I found nothing in answer to any of them; and I suppose the substance of his answers, which contained not any thing that was in the doctor's printed works, might be put by Mr. *Pool* into his Synopsis, under the title of "Quidam," and so some other things of the like nature.

That begun-piece of the Septuagint, I have at last met with, it having been, upon removal of books, misplaced. I scarce think it worth the sending, it is so little: containing but four chapters and nine leaves in quarto; but if you desire it, you shall have it with the rest. As you are not ready, so neither am I in expectance for your making terms with Mr. *Chiswell;* at your best convenience be these things; but as for the print of the doctor's effigies, Mr. *Bonnell* had presented my wife one some time ago, of the first make, which was said to be wrong done, and that it should be reformed; if there be any such, it would be very acceptable to Mr. *D.* That there was great correspondence between Sir *Thomas Brograve* and the doctor, I very well know; but they living so near together, it was mostly by conference; and I never saw but one paper from Sir *Thomas* to the doctor. Sir *John* is not in the country; and if he were, I know not whether he would be inclined to make a search; but if I have opportunity, I will make trial.

Sir, I had a letter from Mr. *Bonnell* of the 12th of this month, who desires me to send up the doctor's Harmony on the New Testament; and that in his closet there is his Acts, in a stitched quarto; and prays me to join that with it, and direct them to you: but his closet is under lock and key, and till he sends me his key, that I may come by this last, I have forborne to send the other; and then in them I shall send you up all the other things before mentioned, who am,

Sir,

Your very respectful friend,

Jan. 17, 1682–3.

JOHN DUCKFIELD.

I am writing to Mr. *Bonnell* to acquaint him with what necessary implement I want.

LETTER XCV.

*The Rev. Mr. Strype to the Rev. Mr. Kidder.**

Sir,

These are the last gleanings that I can pick up concerning the doctor; probably they may give you some satisfaction to the enquiries you made the other day to me. I cannot find what year he came into the mastership of Catharine-Hall; but I know he succeeded Dr. *Spurstow*, whenever that was: so that, sure enough, he obtained it not by sequestration, as you doubted. But whether he was elected, or put in by the authority then uppermost, that again I cannot resolve. Only thus much we find by his Tabula Votiva, before his Chorographical Decad, that he doubted of his title to the mastership, and therefore got it confirmed to him by letters patent from the King.

No more (only as a memorandum), if any thing offers in your way, either some small country living, or instruction of some young gentleman, or travelling with any such as a governor,—think of my cousin Mr. *Bonnell*. I am, Sir,

Your real friend and humble servant,

Low Layton, Jan. 16, 163$\frac{3}{4}$. J. Strype.

For Mr. Kidder, at his house, next door to Threadneedle-St. Church.

In the first page of one of his note books, under his name is written as a motto, that he seemed to affect

השכם והערב

It is an instance of his great modesty, that when he had done so considerably in rectifying the chorography of the Holy Land, in his preface before his Chorographical Century, he reckons himself to have done little or nothing, confessing his own inability to do any thing that way.

In that preface he hints, that he had much more by him of matters of chorography: which I suppose he published in his succeeding Horæ Hebraicæ; and more that never saw the light, is to be met with in his note books.

He intended to have given an account, in brief, of the Jerusalem Talmud, from tract to tract, from chapter to chap-

* The reverend *Richard Kidder*, consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1691; author of "The Demonstration of the Messiah." He edited Dr. *Lightfoot's* Horæ Hebraicæ in Acta Apostolorum. Dr. *Kidder* died in 1703.

ter, with short notes and observations of his own, as they occurred. And in this he made some progress; and entitled it "Index Talmudicus."

His great patron and friend, Sir *Rowland Cotton*, presented him to the parsonage of Ashley, in Staffordshire. There he bought himself a small piece of land, lying near the parsonage-house, of about 5*l.* a-year: the chief reason of which was for the sake of his studies. For there he built him a small house in the midst of a garden, containing two rooms below, viz. a study and a withdrawing-room, and a lodging-chamber above; and there he studied hard, and laid the foundations of his rabbinical learning, and took great delight, lodging there often, though he was then a married man.

This was between the years thirty and forty. His next remove seems to be to the living of St. Bartholomew's, behind the Exchange. When he left Ashley, he put his brother, *Josiah Lightfoot*, into it, as his curate, and withal giving him all the profits; and there he lived till the death of Dr. *Lightfoot*. Then it required a new presentation; and Mr. *Cotton*, of Bellaport, presented the old man's son, that so he might enjoy it during his life, and his son after him; though the son, by report, deals somewhat harshly now with the old man, his father.

In his Epistle before his Horæ Hebraïcæ on St. Matthew, he gives an account of the reason of his first application of himself to the study of the Rabbins.

He was the translator of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the Polyglot Bible. See at the end of his Decas Chorographica upon St. Mark.

He took his degree of doctor in divinity, anno 1651—2; his Clerum was upon 1 Cor. xvi. 22, εἴτις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον, &c. His question, when he disputed for Doctor—

"Post Canonem Scripturæ consignatum, non sunt novæ revelationes expectandæ.

"Personalis ab æterno certorum hominum electio fundatur in Scripturâ."

His discourses and disputes in the Assembly of Divines were in the year 1643.

Quære. What that work was the doctor designed to publish, by what he says upon Acts, chap. xiii. ver. 8, in his Horæ Hebraïcæ: "That the whole country of the Philistines, or at least the greatest part of it, *Vernacule Arabizasse demonstrabimus alibi*"? Probably he means his Disquisition

upon the LXX. which was made some little entrance into; unless it should be *Demonstravimus*, and so refer to somewhat already published.

The constancy of his preaching.—The doctor lived near a mile from church, and never failed for any weather; generally walking it, wet or dry.

His dealing with dissenters.—He pressed communion with the church, both in sermons and discourses. He had the less to do, because some in his parish absented; but since his death, the greatest part have left the church, through the ill temper of his successor. (Indeed he was not thoroughly conformable; rarely wearing a surplice, and seldom reading all the prayers.)

His private visits.—His parish was scattered, and far from him, and he loved his study very much; but in case of sickness, he never neglected his duty.

Relief of the poor.—His house was a continual hospital: none went away unrelieved. His secret charities are supposed considerable; for he had three hundred pounds a-year (though his successor makes fifty pounds per annum more of the living than he did), and no charge nor visible expense, yet spent all.

Love to his parishioners.—He was uneasy at Ely, because of his absence from them; and would often express an earnest longing to be among his dear "russet coats," as he called them. Their love to him appeared most in frequenting the church, and sorrow at his death.

The executors paid about twenty pounds for dilapidations, through the severity of the successor; but every thing was in very good repair; only he had never made any additions.

The living he had, was sequestered: but the old incumbent died before the King came in; to whom he paid voluntarily a large contribution, while he lived; not being obliged to any by the laws of that time. When the King came in, he neglected to get a new title; so a Fellow of St. John's procured a presentation to it, of which Sir *Hen. Cæsar* gave him notice before institution: so the doctor made friends (as by his dedication); yet not so but that it cost him some money to that Fellow by way of composition; under a hundred pounds.

Sir *Rowland Cotton*, that noble-minded and learned gentleman, the doctor's patron, and the author to him of his entering upon, and the great encourager and promoter of, his Hebrew studies; to whose memory the doctor always

paid an extraordinary respect; delighting much in speaking of him, and remembering him with a great deal of honour to his name, and a transport of affection towards him; the sermon was rather prepared to be preached at his funeral, than indeed and actually preached, whatever the reason was. In it you may see his endearedness to him.

Mr. *Pool*, when he wrote his Synopsis, sent many enquiries to Dr. *Lightfoot*, desiring his resolutions, which the doctor sent him. Some think they may be disposed under "*Quidam*," wheresoever we meet with that word in the Synopsis; but I think not.

The doctor may be considered in respect of his discharge of himself as head of a college. They made no little use of him in procuring money to the building of the college. He went to Sir *William Turner*, and got his contribution: and of Mr. *Firmin*. Query, of whom else? What benefaction of his own? Mr. *Duckfield* thinks he has heard that he released the college of a yearly rent for a piece of ground belonging to it.

Concerning his station at Ely, Dr. *Womack* might give the better account, who was his very loving friend, and much esteemed him.

Jan. 25, 1684.

LETTER XCVI.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

Dear Sir,

I lately received a letter from a friend, wherein he told me that he heard all the doctor's sermons before the Parliament were printing or printed with his other works; but I hope care has been taken for the leaving out his epistles, or any thing in the body of those sermons, if any thing there be, which might be exceptionable, &c. And this, Sir, hath brought to my remembrance a sermon of his, preached upon Psal. iv. 4, "Commune with your own heart," which I had read many years ago, and I confess did not know how to understand almost some passages in it: and since then, I have seen a letter, as I remember, from the doctor to one Mr. *Ambrose*, a minister, who in something which he had printed, brought in an allegation from that sermon, for which the

doctor, in the said letter, expressed himself ill pleased, wishing he had left it out: and again, a letter of excuse from Mr. *Ambrose*, acquainting him in what sense he understood it, as of the doctor's humility, &c. in his so largely expressing himself about his unacquaintedness with his own heart: but the doctor, I conceive, was not satisfied with the transmitting of it into his book. I almost believe, upon second thoughts, he did not so well approve of it himself. And indeed, so far as I can recollect about it, I would wish, methinks, that sermon might be forborne. I write this, as not hearing that the impression is as yet come forth, that, if it may be without any inconvenience, that sermon may not come with it; but this I refer to your own thoughts; but, however, desiring a care may be taken about any thing relating to the then times or affairs, which I doubt not, who am, Sir,

Your very respectful friend and servant,

March 26, 1684.

J. DUCKFIELD.

For the reverend Mr. John Strype, Minister of Low Layton.

LETTER XCVII.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED the Harmony and manuscript books and papers which you sent with your last letter. Touching the other several queries, I can give but a very slender account. Concerning the doctor's father, there were some papers sent up, I think, to Mr. *Kidder*. He died old, and was in very good reputation, both in the country or town of Uttoxeter; of which he was minister. He had five sons: *Thomas*, the elder, bred up a tradesman; *John*, the second, at Christ's-College, in Cambridge; *Peter*, a scholar and a very ingenious man and of great usefulness in the country, and often in commissions for ending differences, and practised physic; *Josiah*, the fourth, now living, who preceded his brother the doctor in his parsonage of Ashley; *Samuel*, the fifth, a minister also, but dead long since. One thing I give you a hint of, his father was a great puritan, as called in those days (where-

fore herein must be a caution in speaking of him), but much troubled in his latter days with the sectaries in his parish. His diet was spare, not eating in the morning (I mean the doctor), nor at night, very seldom; only on Sundays he used a supper,—for then, when at home, never any dinner. His manner was, after returning from a journey, to pass through his house to his retirements, not saluting or speaking to any body, unless they came in his way, till he had performed his private devotions. He had no lecture, nor constant preaching employment at Ely, but his, I think, two months' course in the cathedral. To his morning and evening prayer in his family he was constant. For his food, whatever it was, he was always very thankful, never complaining of any thing at his table; but ever expressing a thankfulness for whatever was set before him in his eating,—besides his usual blessing before and after meals. To any the other questions, not to mention them in particular, I have nothing of any singular note to offer you: but his habitual piety, and his more than common charity at his door, to all sorts of comers pretending need; which, he says, some would blame as encouraging beggars; but none ever went without relief. He was very pitiful to them, and would frequently bring them within doors to warm themselves by his fire; besides that, in his latter days, he used in winter time, to find work for the poor of his parish, as spinning, &c. whereby they might earn somewhat.

I have not heard from Mr. *Bonnell* since he went; but that week that I received your letter, Mr. [*] had a letter from him, dated, as I remember, the 13th of this instant, from Lyons, when Mr. *Ralph* was come to him there; and while he, viz. Mr. *Ralph*, stayed there, Dr. *Moulin* gave him letters recommendatory to some places further, whither he had a mind to make a short visit.

Sir, I can remember nothing more touching the doctor, or your inquiries about him. Be pleased to accept this from,

Sir, your very respectful friend and servant,

J. Duckfield.

Asped. April 21, 1684.

Your last had no date.

For the Rev. Mr. John Strype.

Dr. *Gardner's* Epitaph on Dr. *Lightfoot*, with Mr. *Pool's* Emendations:—

JOHANNES LIGHTFOOT
S. T. P.

Ecclesiæ hujus Rector, et Eliensis Canonicus,
Aulæ S. Catharinæ apud Cantabrigienses Præfectus,
Linguarum et *Rituum** Orientalium peritiâ,
Eruditione omnifaria, presertim reconditiore,
Instructissimus;
Qui Thalmudicam doctrinam miro subacti judicii
acumine temperavit, et Rabbinici ingenii specimen exhibuit sine mixtura dementiæ.
S. Scripturis obscurioribus lucem dedit, sparsis
Harmoniam.
In Chronologiæ δυσνοήτοις emendis Conjector felicissimus, et Hebraicæ Veritatis vindex strenuus.
Templi Hierosolymitani Mystes,
Qui secretiora adyta reseravit Sacra,
ordinavit,
Et summi Pontificii instar, solus penetravit in Sanctum Sanctorum.
Terram Canaanis,
Non minus sæculi ignorantia quam barbarie obsitam,
Face perlustrans Thalmudicâ, sibi ipsi et
Orbi restituit.
Senectute vegeta, suaviter Otio Literario et Concionibus frequentibus elaboratissimis insumptâ, tandem hic deposuit
Quicquid erat mortale:
Horis verò Hebraicè et Thalmudice impensis,
Nil non immortale reliquit et
Æternitati Sacrum.

* Antiquitatum.

JOHANNES LIGHTFOOTE. S. T. P.

Ecclesiæ hujus Rector, et Eliensis Canonicus,
Aulæ S. Catharinæ apud Cantabrigienses Præfectus;
Linguarum et rituum Orientalium peritiâ,
(a) Doctrinâ omnifariâ, præsertim reconditiore,
Instructissimus.
* S. Scripturis obscurioribus Lucem dedit (summam),
Sparsis utriusque Instrumenti Harmoniam.
In S. Chronologia *dubiis*† felix Arbiter,
Hebraicæ Veritatis Vindex strenuus.
(b) Templi Hierosolymitani
Sacrorum fidus Interpres, ejus Atria mensus est
Calamo Angelico.
Pietate, Modestiâ, Candore, Insignis.
Optime de Ecclesiâ Christianâ meritus.
Senectutem Vegetam otio literario et Concionibus frequentibus insumpsit; et tandem hic deposuit
Quicquid erat mortale.
In Horis vero, Hebraicè et Thalmudicè
Impensis, nihil non reliquit
Æternitati Sacrum.
Ob: Dec. 6° A. D. 1675. Æt. 72.

(a) Scientia reconditiore omni instructissimus.

* Pleraque S. Scripturæ δυσνόητα blandè illustravit, Sparsis utriusque Instrumenti Harmoniam et Ordinem Contexuit.

† Perplexis.

(b) Templi Hierosolymitani
Sacrorum fidus Interpres; Atria mensus est
Calamo Angelico, Adytum aperuit, et, Summi instar
Pontificii, Solus penetravit in Sanctum Sanctorum.

END OF VOL. XIII.

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